

9. y-e-g : rh-i g-rh-e-s-l : a-r-s-l-i : th-g-g : e-m'-k-e :
families born (&) women's, nobles (?), altogether (?), in war (?)
k-e-b-e-s-u-e : e-r-g : sh-ā-toh : A-r'-b-l :
captured, she carried away, viz. the mother Arbel,
10. A-rh-h-i-toh : P-e-r-i-toh :¹⁷ a-b-r-c : g-rh-i CVII : k-e-l-e-b :
from the territory of the Pharaoh : men 100, women 107, slaves
A-p'-toh-b-e-s¹⁸ : th-g-g : m-g-i-u¹⁹ :
of Hapi of Bigga, together with their god
11. Y-k'-l : m-g-i-sh-e-sh-toh-l : a-b-r-s-l : y-e-g-e-rh :
Yika the god of the land of Shesh; men's families (&)
g-rh-i-s-l : a-r-e-s-l-i : th-g-g : e-m'-a-k-e : k-e-b-e-s-u-e :
women's, nobles (?), altogether (?) in war (?) captured,
12. y-e-r-g-i : A-p-e-s : m-g-i : u-e-toh-l-h-e :
I carried away (as the slaves) of Hapi the god of this land
A-rh-h-e-toh : P-r-i-toh : a-b-r L (?) v : g-rh-i CCL (?) III :
from the territory of the Pharaoh : men 5 (?) 5, women 25 (?) 3,
k'-e-l-e-b :
slaves
13. a-toh-toh : k-e-b-e-s : y-e-th-g-b (?)-h-e : Y-ka'-l : M-e-m²⁰ :
in that land captured, who were children of Yika of Mam,
a-l-e-k-l²¹ : K-e-sh-t : a-th-l-e-l-e-b : a-b-r-[s]-l :
... in Cush settled (?) ; men's
14. y-e-g-e-rh : g-rh-i-s-l a-r'-s-l-i : th-g-g : rh-k-e-b-e-s-u-e²² :
families (&) women's, nobles (?) altogether (?) given as slaves
A-p-e toh-[b]-i : N-h-i²³ : a-r-g-e-rh-n-i-y-e²⁴
to Hapi of Bigga, the Theban, her begetier (?),
15. k-e-b-e-s-u-e : s-b-h-i²⁵ : a-l-e-p-b-k'²⁶ : p-e-r-toh-s :
the captives being chiefs of first rank (?), being of the Agent
K-e-sh : k'-l-e-b-u-e : h-r-p-h-n-m-l-e-g-s²⁷ : I-p-i-a-l-i :
of Cush the slaves (?), even of the conqueror of the foe Ipiali
16. k-e-s-u-e-rh-e-h-i²⁸ : e-k-e-toh-rh-e-b-h-i²⁹
who was sprung from the conqueror who loved (?) the elders,
s-b-k-l-e-b-u-i-toh-s : Y-e-s-b-e³⁰ : N-sh : N-sh-l³¹ : k'-r :
lord of the nobles of this land, Yesbe Nash-nash the king
17. a-to-[to :] e-k-e-p-i³² : M-e-rh-e-u-e-toh-l³³ : a-... m (?) -rh-e
in that land the elder he of this land of Merož, born of ...
Gh'-b-i³⁴ : th-g-g : Rhe-rhe : [s-b] : k-l-e-b : u-i-toh-s :
Ghabi together with (?) Rherhe, lord of the nobles of this land
Y-e-s-b-i
of Yesbi
18. k-e-b-s-l-i-l-i³⁵ : Gh-b-i : M-e-rh-e-u-i-toh-l-i : k'-r : N-l :
who took it from (?) Ghabi the Meroite, king of Ni (?)
... l : Y-e-k (?) -h (?) -b-t (?) : a-u (?) -g (?) ... n :
... ..
19. k-s³⁶ : M-e' l-gh³⁷ : A-m-n-p³⁸ : p-n-p-g : A-h-r' :
the noble, the great one of Me(rož), Amon-hotep, panpag of the Frontier
p-h-r-p-h-toh : B-e-u-[i]-g [e :]³⁹ sh (?) -u (?) -i-rh' : k'-l-e-b :
of the pro-principality of Be(ui), ... (of) the nobles

20. y-e-b-e : Y-e-s-b-e-u-i-toh-s : N-sh : N-sh-l : A-m-n-p :
(belonging to ?) Yesbe of this land (and?) Nash-nash (?). Amon-hotep
 y-i-r'-gh : M-rh-e-u-i : a- : s-b : G-r-toh-l-i : a-r-th-
in old times of Meroë . . . lord of Korti, of the
21. h-n'-g-i⁴⁰ : toh-n-g-e-l⁴¹ : toh-n-u (?) l-b-h-e⁴² : s-b-m-e-g-e :
choir director for the priests (?) lord of . . .
 A-rh-b-l-e-l-h-e : E-n'-k-e⁴³ : s-b : M-toh-y-b-e-l-i :
who were in the territories neighbouring ; lord of the Medi (?)
22. u (?) k-n-l-i : A-rh-b-l-e-l-h : Th-b-r-e-toh⁴⁴ : K-e-sh-l-i :
of u (or Sh) kn who was in the territories of Thabre, a Cushite,
 M (?) l-i-l-g-e : s-b : s-b-l-h-e : E-n'-u-i-toh⁴⁵ : U-e-b-r-toh :
from . . . ; lord of the princes in the adjoining land of Uebar,
23. [h-r-] p-h-e-g-e : sh-u-i-rh' I-r-h-h-i⁴⁶ : s-b-u-i :
from among the hereditary princes of the race (?) of Irhi the princess
 e-k-e-s-u-i-l : e-g-toh : g-rh-i-s-l-u : a-b-r-l-u : y-e-m'-k-e :
of old, the mistress (?) of the women (&) men in war (?)
24. k-e-b-e-s-u-i-l : u-ä-b-toh⁴⁷ : toh-n-g-e-l-h-e : E-toh-n-u-i-toh⁴⁸ :
captured, viceroy of the ruler in the land of Aton
 K-m'-l-i : rh-m-b-e-l-i⁴⁹ : M-rh-e-u-e-y-i : m-g-rh-e-y-i :
the Egyptian of the west, a Meroite, god-born,
25. To-i-ä⁵⁰ : sh-u-i-a-h-i⁵¹ : g-rh-e-y-i-p : a-b-r-i-g : u-i
Teie, who (viz. Irhi) was . . . of women (&) men as follows
 MMMCCC ä-u-u-i-a-u-i : e-r'-toh : th-i-n-n-g-e :
 3400 (?) . . . the spoil (?) I dedicated (?)
26. m (?) l-i p-i-rh-b-toh⁵² : a-s-ä-toh : toh-e-r-l-i-s-l : A-sh-r :
 . . . from the lands (&) waters of . . . to Osiris
 a-h-i-rh-e-b-l-e⁵³ : u-i CCL (?) VII
who loves the city(?) as follows 257 (?).
 A-g-i-n-i-rhe-rhe
 Agini-rherhe
27. k' : p-k-r-l' : p-e-sh-t-l' : p-k-r-i-l-g-e : M-n' : N-l-i :
the royal : the deputy, the lord of deputies ; of Amon of Thebes
 e-k-e-th-h-n⁵⁴ : a-n-th⁵⁵ : M-n'-toh-s-l-g-e :
chief musician, prophet of those of Amon's land ;
28. M-n' : N-l-i : e-k-e-th-h-n : p-k-r-i-l-i : p-e-sh-t-l-i :
who were Amon of Thebes' chief musician(s), deputies (&) lords,
 th-b-i-th-n-i-rh-e-b-h-e⁵⁶ :
lovers (?) of his house (?),
29. k'-r-e-b-l-i : N-p-th-b-i-h : a-m-r-e : M-h-r-toh-s-n :
who have been kings of Napata since Mahartosen (and ?)
 A-m-n-i : a-r-r-e-s-s⁵⁷
 Amon-arres,
30. G-r-toh-rh-s : h-r-p-h-e : u-s-l : th-g-th⁵⁸ : s-b :
who was born at Korti as hereditary prince . . . in the time of the lord
 G-r-toh-l-i : a-r-th-h-n'-g-e-u-i :
of Korti, of the choir

31. toh-ŋ-g-e-l : toh-ŋ-u-i-b-h-e : s-b : M-e-g-e : A-rh-b-l-e-l-h-e :
the director for the priests (?) ; lord of . . . in the territories
 E-n'-k-e : s-b : M-toh-y-b-e-l-i :
adjoining ; lord of the Medi (?)
32. Sh-m-e-toh-s-ŋ-l-i⁶⁹ : A-rh-b-l-e-l-h : Th-b-r-e-toh :
belonging to Shametosen who was in the territories of Thabre
 K-e-sh-l-i : M'-l-e-l-e-g-e :
a Oushite, from . . . ;
33. s-b : s-b-l(?)-h⁶⁰ : E-n'-u-l-toh : U-e-b-r-toh :
lord of the princes in the adjoining land of Uebar,
 h-r-p-h-e-g-e : sh-u-i-rh' : I-r-h-h-i : s-b-u-i :
from among the princes of the race of Irhi the princess
34. e-k-e-s-u-l : e-g-toh : g-rh-i-s-l-u : a-b-r-s-l-u : e-m'-k-e
of old, mistress (?) of women (&) men in war (?)
 k-e-b-e-s-u-l-l
captured,
35. u-ä-b-toh : p-e-rh-e-g-e-s-l-g-e⁶¹ : h-r-p-h-l-g-e :
viceroy of him who was born of Hapi (?), among th princes
 k'-l-e-b : u (?) -toh-rh-e-toh⁶² : m-g : u-i-toh-pi-rh-il-g-e⁶³ :
the noble ones in this land (?), the god of the natives of this land,
36. k' : e-h-r-p-h-e⁶⁴ : p-y-li : e-p-p . . . [l-] i⁶⁵ :
the noble one, of princes true-born (?) . . .
 [u (?) -toh-] rh-e-toh-l-e-b-g : a-t-i-l (?) : p-e-g-e :
of the natives of this land . . .
37. u (?) -toh-rh-e-toh : A-m-n-p-toh⁶⁶ : p-i-rh-e-l-g-e⁶⁷ : r-b :
in this land (?) the place of Amon-hotep, of the agriculturists the lord,
 u (?) -r-e-u-h-e-l-i : . . .
38. m-g-e-n'-u-i : toh-ŋ-g-e-l : Th-b-r-g-[e] : k'-r-toh-[s-l] :
the god of Thebes, high-priest of the Thabar kingdom
 E-th-g-b-h-l* : h-r-[p]-h-[e]-s-l :
 (&) the Ethgab(h) principality
39. th-g-th : A-m-n-i : a-r-r-e-s-s : A-m-n-p : N-toh-s-l :
in the time of Amon-arres, Amon-hotep of Thebes.
 [A-m-n-] p :
 [Amon-hotep was]
40. p-i-rh-e-l-g-e : k'-l-e-b : u (?) -toh-rh-e-b-toh : s-b :
among the native nobles in these lands(?) lord
 [toh-] -ŋ-g-e-l-h-e⁶⁸ : ä-u-u-[i-a-u]-i :
 (&) high-priest . . .
41. e-r'-toh : th-n-n-g-i⁶⁹ : a-rh-b-toh⁷⁰ : a-s-[ä]-toh : k' :
 . . . I dedicated (?) from lands (&) river, to the noble one
 [A-p-i-] toh-b-s-l-h :
belonging to Hapi of Bigga,
42. A-sh-r : a-h-i-rh-e-b-l-i u-i COLLII
Osiris who loves the city (?) as follows 252.

* Or perhaps 'children of the princes'; cp. line 13.

NOTES

Where no note is attached to an unqueried word, the signification of the word has already been determined by Mr. Griffith.

1. This is resolvable into: (1) suffix *-l*, (2) suffix *-h* ('who is of'), (3) root *rheb*, (4) pronominal suffix *ne*, and (5) root *yith* (also written *yeth*). The exact force of *-l* is still doubtful; it marks the nominative as well as the oblique case and can be followed by a vowel which probably indicates the case. We also find *-l(e)-l* where the first *-l* is adjectival (as in *k're-l-i* 'royal one' or 'queen,' *grhe-l-i* 'womanly'). It will be observed that grammatical agreement is indicated by a repetition of the same suffix.

Yith is found in *yith-mrhê*, which Mr. Griffith translates 'cousin,' as well as in one or two other words denoting relationship. Cp. *yeth-gb-he*, l. 13.

Ne, also written *ni*, is shown by the passages in which it occurs, to be a possessive pronoun. It is found in the name Agi-ni-rherhe.

Egyptian analogy would suggest that *rheb* means 'loving' or 'loved by'; cp. the title of Osiris *ah-i-rheb* (l. 26). On the other hand, the root *rhê* = 'born of.'

2. In *p-k'r-η-yi*, *yi* is the suffix, *η* the same suffix that we have in *h'rp-η* by the side of *h'rp* and probably related to the pronominal *ne*, while *p-k'r* is a compound of *p* and *k'r*. We find the same *p* in *p-t-u-rh* by the side of *t-u-rh* as well as in *p-h'rp* (line 19.) It must have the same signification as the Latin *pro*, *p-k'r* being 'in place of the king,' 'royal deputy.'


On a block from the Sun-temple, Agini-rherhe has the title of *P-e-sh-t-l* with the Egyptian determinative *neb* attached to it (*Meroë* I. Pl. XXXV, 1), from which we may infer that the word signified 'lord' or 'prince.' As the pronominal suffix *-η* is omitted, we must conclude that *pesht-η-yi* will be literally '(of' or 'to) her lord.' Does *peshto* stand for *pe-sh-toh* 'pro-queen-mother'?

3. *H'rp* is the Egyptian *hâ-ropa* 'hereditary prince,' which settles the value of the first letter in Meroitic. The suffix *-h(e)* is relative, and signifies 'who is.' The final *-u* seems to have the force of 'he' in many of the passages in which it occurs.

4. Mr. Griffith has already pointed out that *Ar'me* is 'Rome' or 'Roman.' The meaning of the suffix is given by the title of Agini-rherhe on the block from the Sun-temple already referred to, where we read: *p-k-r k'r i-s-l*, 'deputy of the queen.' It is a combination of the suffixes *s* and *l*.

5. *K-m* is the Egyptian *Qem* which fixes the meaning of *Ah'r*. On the Second Stela found by Prof. Garstang, Agini-rherhe is called *k'r : e-l-y : i-r-u (?) b-s : a-h-r* : *A-rh-e-s-l* [*i*] : *M-r*, 'King . . . of the frontier of the territory of Meroë.'¹

The meaning of *th-m'-th* (which usually follows the geographical name it determines) is fixed by a good many passages. Thus on the Second Stela we have *E-toh-e-l-i-p-y-e : th-m-th-s-l : U-e-b-r-e-s-l-i*. On the Second Stela we find also the plural *a-h-r'-b* : *N-p-t* 'the frontiers of Napata.'

6. The signification of *a-b-r* is fixed for the first time by this inscription. I had already indicated the meaning of the word in *Meroë* I, p. 55. (The copy of the cartouches in Plate LXI is unfortunately incorrect.) The geographical cartouches at the Sun-temple begin: *A* ()-plural determinative *-b-r : a-u-i-r'-g-e* : 'men of the countries.'

1. So we find on the Obelisk of Amon-shahet . . . *h-th : a-h-r'-l : i-rh-l-h* . . . 'frontier-born (?).'

The suffix *-rhe* which seems to be derived from the root *yerh* or *yrh* 'born,' signifies 'child of,' 'sprung from.' Hence I assign to *yeg* the signification of 'family.'

7. I thought at first that *ar-shi* might mean 'boys,' 'children,' but there are passages in the inscription which such a meaning would not suit. On the Obelisk we have : - *l-i : a-r-s-l-i-g-e : y-i-th-g-toh : m-rh : rh-h-i-l-u*, after which comes a series of measurements. We also find the compound word *a-r-rh-e-b*. The word may possibly be borrowed from the Egyptian *her* 'chief.' We find it in *ar-th'n* line 21, on which see note 40.

8. In line 10 *th-g-g* seems to signify 'together with,' and in line 30 'contemporary with.' It is difficult to separate the word from *th-g-g-e-toh* on a Meroë Stela (Tombs 415) where we read (1) *rh-m-toh-k'-l-i : K-L-i-g-e-l'* : (2) *m-g-l-u* : ('To Khent-Amenti, god of Kali') *M-l-n : y-e-th-l-u* : (3) *M-l-n-g-i : th-g-g-e-toh* : (4) *A-sh'-r-i* ('Osiris'); with which we must compare another (unpublished) Meroë text : (1) *U'-sh-i : A-sh'-r-e-y-i : rh-m-s-k'-e* : ('To Isis and Osiris lord of the West') (2) *e-t-g-e m-g-l-u M-l-n* : (3) *y-e-th-l-u M-l-n y-e-rh-n-k'-s* : (4) *rh-r-p-n* : *U'-sh-k'-e* (5) *th-n-[n]-i-n-l-i : A-sh'-r-i-k'-e* : (6) *th-n-y-i n-l-i* :

9. The root *ke* signifies 'to take,' 'capture'; see Meroë Pl. LXIII, 6. *B* is a suffix which forms the plural of a certain class of nouns; *-s* is another suffix, as in *k'-e-s-u-i* 'conqueror.' *K'-e-toh-rh-e-u-i* is 'conquered,' while *K'-er-rh-s* is a proper name. The translation of *yemke* is purely conjectural.

10. We have the plural of *arh-hi-toh* in lines 31 and 41 where it is coupled with *asā-toh*, the *Asta* 'water' of Pliny (*H. N. V. 10*)). It would, therefore, appear to mean specially 'the irrigated land,' the modern Egyptian *riḫ*. On the Second Stela we read : *a-h-r' : a-rh-e-s-l-[i] : M-r'* : and *E-p-e-[b-h-l] : a-rh-b-l-u-i*.

Keper is the deified Kubar of the Dendur texts to whom, with his sons Petisis and Pahor, the temple was dedicated, probably in the time of Tiberius. In 1893 I found an image of Kubar in the dress of an Ethiopian king among the ruins of the town to the north of the temple; but it has since disappeared. The name of Kubar fixes the date of our Stela as well as the geography of the first campaign recorded in it. The territory of Kubar was in northern Nubia and therefore in the Roman sphere of influence, and would have been occupied before the capture of Assuan.

11. *K'-l-e-b* seems to be a faulty spelling of *k-e-l-e-b*, line 10, and if so will be a derivative from *k-i* 'to take,' the passage being parallel to that in line 10, and the translation being 'Nile-born slaves from A. belonging to (Agini-rherhe) the son of the deputy, the Kushite,' &c. Properly, however, *k'leb* would be connected with *k'* 'noble,' the meaning being : 'Nile-born nobles from A. (captured) by the son of the deputy,' &c. The land of Shesh is mentioned in Griffith : *Meroitic Inscriptions* 129.6 : 'victorious in the land of Sh(e)sh.'

12. The words which follow must be description of Agini-rherhe 'who was son of the (royal) deputy,' with which we may perhaps have to associate the preceding words, 'the Nile-born (?), of the Arab (?) lands.' *N'l* may be from the Greek Neilos, or it may be formed from *N'* and *N'toh*, which, as Mr. Griffith has pointed out, is the Egyptian and Assyrian *Ni* 'Thebes,' with the suffix *-l*. In *arh-h-toh-ge* we have (1) the genitival suffix *-ge* or *-gi* — the distinction between the suffixes *i* and *e* has yet to be discovered —, (2) the locative *-toh*, and (3) the relational *-h*. *B* also may be the plural suffix.

13. *Imla'* seems to be the name of the father of Agini-rherhe. On the other

hand, on the Obelisk we find *imleth* used apparently as an ordinary word (*i-m-l-e-th* : *rh-e-k'-e-n-i-u-i-l-i-g*, 'her gift . . .').

14. At Naga Arig-khrer is entitled *p-k-r th-r-l-i* where *thr-li* must signify 'first,' 'supreme' or something similar. Hence *thr-rh-e-b* will be 'born of chiefs,' with the plural suffix. In *abe-p-b* we have the suffix *-pi* which is found in *eke-pi*, line 17. In line 7 *thr'-rhe-b-g-toh* will be 'high-born-plural-of-in.'

15. *Eke-l-b-he* is formed from *eke* with the suffix *-l*. For the signification of *eke* see note 54, line 27.

16. *Shetoh* seems to be another spelling of *shtoh* for which Mr. Griffith suggests the meaning 'mother.' In line 9 it is written *shātoh*. *Kesht* is the word which appears in Egyptian history as *Kasht* 'the Cushite.' (1)

17. *Peritoh* also represented the Egyptian *p-rd* 'agent,' though this was more correctly written *p-u-r-i-toh*. In line 12 the word is written *Pritoh*, while the word for 'agent' is written *p-e-r-toh* line 15.

18. Mr. Griffith has shown that *Tohbe* is Bigga. Ape is the Egyptian Hapi, the Nile-god, to whom (along with Osiris) the shrine in which the Stelae were found was dedicated.

19. This passage seems to show that the suffix *-u* represented the third personal pronoun; cp. *-l-u* on the Tables of Offering.

20. *Mām* was the part of Nubia of which Derr is the centre. With *Yka'*. cp. Nastosen's 'land of Aï'ka.'

21. See note 26, line 15.

22. The meaning of the root *rh(e)k* is settled by the Obelisk inscription which begins: *rh-e-k'-e-s* : *A-m'-n-i sh-h-e-t* : *k'-r* 'the deed of gift of Amon-shahet the queen' (or 'the queen A. has given').

23. *N(i)* is Thebes, as Mr. Griffith has already pointed out.

24. The root *arg* is found in the royal name Arg-Amon (Ergamenes).

25. The numerous passages in which *s-b* occurs fix its general signification. The compound *g-rh-i-s-b-e* is translated 'sisters' (or 'harim') by Mr. Griffith. *Sab* was the name of an Ethiopian priest mentioned on the Stela of queen Madi . . .

26. *Ale-p-b-k'* is to be decomposed into *k'* ('noble') added to names and words denoting 'rank,' the plural suffix *b* and the pronominal suffix *p* (see note 32, line 17). In line 13 the root is found in *ale-k*, which elsewhere appears as *ale-ke*.

27. *M-l-e-g-e* is a title at Karanog (37) where we read of a certain Masmetyoi who was 'mlege of Mash.' Here *n* appears to have a locative sense.

28. I derive *kesue-rhe-ḥi* from *ke* 'to take.' Mr. Griffith thinks it means 'the north.' Either signification would suit the passage.

29. In *eke-thñn*, line 27, *eke* takes the place of *ur* (and *yere*) which Mr. Griffith has shown is borrowed from the Egyptian *ur* 'elder.' See note 40. *Eke* therefore must be the native equivalent of *ur*. Instead of *rheb* 'to love (?)' we may have the two suffixes *rhe* and *b*.

30. In the following line the words *sb*, *kleb* and *uitos* are separated from each other. *Kleb* is a plural noun formed with *-l* from *k'* 'noble,' and must therefore be

1. *Kas* is the name of the Island of Meroë in the inscriptions of the Axumite kings. The Meroitic king who built the temple of Basa a few miles inland from Meroë similarly calls himself 'the Sun-god of Cush (*K'-sh*), the ever-living.'

distinguished from *kleb* or *keleb* 'slaves' from *ke* 'to take.' See note 11. *Ui-toh* is elsewhere written *ue-toh* 'this land.'

'The land of Yesbe' is the land of Meroë. This is made clear by the inscriptions from the Lion-temple. A Stela in honour of the Lion-goddess begins with the words: '[A]pe-rhe-mg (the Hapi-born goddess). . . is she in Shab're, sprung from (?) Yesbe (*Y-e-s-b'-gh-e*), queen of the children of B'ui (*B'-u-i-rh-l'*) . . . Isis mother in Philæ, the Philian is she of the land of the offspring of Yesbe' (*Y-e-s-b'-gh-e-toh-u-i*).'
A hymn from the same temple begins: 'O Pe-rhe-mag in . . . shikiy, of Tokrirhe-Amon the king, born of Pui, good* is the [hymn ?] of this land of the offspring of Yesbe' (*Y-e-s-b'-gh-e : u-etoh-y*). At Kalabsha the king entitles himself *Y-e-s-b'-gh-e : k'-r-l-e-b : th-r'-s* 'first of the royal ones of the race of Yesbe.' For B'ui see note 39, on line 19.†

31. Nash-nash seems to be the second name of Yesbe. But both here and in line 20 the sense of the passage escapes me. The name reminds us of the borrowed Arabic *nisnās* 'monkey,' Nubian *nesnās*.

32. On the suffix *pi* see notes 26 and 63.

33. *Merhe* appears to be the same as *mrhe* the signification of which is difficult to determine. The compound *yeth-mrhe* would most naturally mean 'favourite child,' but the word is used elsewhere, as in this line, in what seems to be almost certainly a geographical sense. Thus at Naga we have *ariton-l mrhe-s-l* 'leader of Meroë,' *mge-rhe-ge-l mrhe-s-l* 'of the god-born of Meroë.' Here, at any rate, *Merhe-uetoh* is parallel with *Yesbe-uitoh* (l. 20) and *mgī uetoh* (l. 12).

34. Ghabi was one of the divine or deified ancestors of the Meroitic people. Three jars found in the tomb of a certain Valerius in the Western group of pyramids at Meroë are inscribed:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (1) sh-ḥ-e iv : B'-b' Gh-b-l-i | sh'-toh-k'-e-l'-l-i : | sh' |
| 4 shaḥe : | for father Ghabi | the conqueror of the land (?) half (or two). |
| (2) toh-l-e-g-e iv : B'-b' Gh-b-l-i : | sh' : | U'-sh-m-r'-l-i sh' |
| 4 tolege : | for father Ghabi | half ; for Isis of Meroë half. |

There is the same inscription on jar (3) as on jar (2).

35. A derivative from the same root as *kebes*.

36. *K's* is the genitive of *k'* which is attached to the names of royal and semi-royal persons.

37. See foot-note on note 30. There is a mark of abbreviation after *me*. Mr. Griffith has made it clear that *lagh* = 'great.'

38. He has also shown that Amnap is the Egyptian Amon-hotep. That Amon-hotep III is meant seems to follow from the mention of queen Teie in line 25. On the Second Stela Amanap is called *A-m-n-p : N-toh-s-l'* 'Amon-hotep of Thebes.'

* Or 'triumphant.' *Mal* is rendered by the Egyptian *nefer* 'good,' 'fair,' but on a plaque of Arg-kharer found at Meroë the word *M-l-e-serpent-k'* is attached to a figure of the winged victory who was apparently identified with the serpent deity worshipped at Dendur. For *mle* in Griffith: *Meroitic Inscriptions* 129.6, see note 11.

(†) The name is also written Beui, and hence may mean 'The Road,' since on the Stela of queen Madi-khen (?) the determinative of 'running' is attached to the word *biua* in the proper name *Mal-biua-Amon*. At Meroë the word *Mal* usually has the determinative of 'good' (*nefer*) attached to it in the name of the king *Mal-neken*; consequently *Mal-biua-Amon* would signify 'Fair in marching is Amon.'

39. For Beui, also written B'ui and Pui see note 30 on line 16.

40. *Ar-thīn'* here takes the place of *eke-thīn* (line 27) and *ur-thīn* (also *ure-thīn*) which Mr. Griffith has already identified with the Egyptian *ur-dkhn*. In the hymn from the Lion-temple the word is written *y-e-r-e-th-ḥ-n* ('the sweet water of . . . is her offspring, the sweet music (*ḥ-r-i-m*) of the musicians (*y-e-r-e-th-ḥ-n-g-e*) is her forefather' (*y-e-r-e-s-n-i*)). Consequently *ar*, *yere* and *eke* are all equivalents of the Egyptian *ur*, and must have the general sense of 'elder.' With *yere* I would connect *yir'* in line 20. Cp. *yire* in the next note.

41. *Ton-ge-l* cannot signify 'west' as Mr. Griffith suggests. At Naga it interchanges with *y-i-r-e-k-e-l*, a compound of the roots *yere* and *ke*, and therefore must have some such meaning as 'chief.' The root is found in the proper names Amon-tohn-m'mi-rhe ('Born of Amon lord of Mam'?) Karo-ton-Amon and Ton-Amon (on the Stela of queen Madi . . .), Karo-Amon-ton, and perhaps Tanut-Amon. If the proper name Karo-Mut on the Stela of Madi . . . is equivalent to the Egyptian Nesu-Mut, 'attached to Mut,' which occurs a few lines later, Karo-Amon-ton might be 'Priest attached to Amon,' and *tongel* in that case would be 'High-priest.'

42. Perhaps the third letter is *rh*.

43. In *Arh-b-lel-he* the relative suffix may refer to the singular *Sab*. *En'-ke* seems to contain the same root as *En-i-toh* on the Second Stela, where we read *En-i-toh* : *th-m-th* and *S-u-n-toh* : *e-n'-th* : *th-m-th* ('the district adjoining Syene.'?) In line 22 of this Stela *eni-toh* is written *en'ui-toh*.

44. As Thabre is the country mentioned on the Ram from Soba we may conclude that it was the district immediately north of Khartum.

45. See note 43 above.

46. *Irhi* with one *h* occurs in two passages on the Second Stela; ll. 4, 5 : *e-toh-e-l-i-p-y-e* : *th-m-th-s-l* : *U-e-b-r-e-s-l-i* : *I-r-h-e* (?) : *g-rh-i-y-e-b* (?), from which we gather that she was a queen, and l. 19 : *a-r-i-toh-n* : *k'-r-i-[s-l]* *i-toh* : . . . *rh-e* . . . *toh-s-l-u* : [*I*] *r-h-e* . . . ('first of the sovereigns of . . .') (?). The seat of her sovereignty appears to have been the district of Uebar.

47. *Uābtoh* is another form of *ap'toh* which, as Mr. Griffith has pointed out, is borrowed from the Egyptian *upte*, 'ambassador,' 'representative.'

48. More probably Per-Qem-Aton (now Sesebi) in the Sudan than Akh-Aton, the modern Tel el-Amarna in Egypt. Per-Qem-Aton, however, appears elsewhere in the Meroitic inscriptions as Athi(ye).

49. *Rhem-be-li* has the same root as *rhem-toh-k'-li* and *rhem-s-k'e* ' (Osiris) lord of the Westerners' and 'lord of the West,' quoted above in note 8. Per-Qem-Aton was on the West bank of the Nile.

50. On the Second Stela the name of queen Teie is written *T-e-ā*' (l. 8), the passage reading : *m-g-rh-i* : *T-e-ā*' : *a-h-u-i-toh-s* : . . . *M'l-gh*, 'the god-born Teie of this *ah* land . . . the great one of M(eroë?).'

51. In line 23 we find *shui-rh'* 'born of *shui*.' Shueyi-bye is a proper name. On the Second Stela we read : *M-r-a-k'* : *sh-u-i-rh'* : *P-e-u* *K'-sh-toh* *th-m-th-toh*. I fail to understand the suffixes *-p* and *-g* in the two following words, but the same suffix *-g* is found in line 36.

52. *Pi-rh-b-toh* is a locative plural of *pi-rhe*, on which see note 67, line 37. Here its signification is fixed by *asātoh*, and it will be a synonym of *arhhi-toh* (note 10). See further note 67, line 37. *Asātoh* is the *asta* 'water' of Pliny, found in the names of

the rivers Asta-boras (Atbara), Asta-sobas (Blue Nile) and Asta-pus (White Nile, i.e., Asta-Api). On the stela of Nastosen the city of Asd-rsa has the determinative of 'water' attached to the initial *asd(a)*.

53. With *ahi* cp. *ah-uitos* above.

54. See notes 29 & 40.

55. The signification of *anth* has been discovered by Mr. Griffith.

56. *Thb-ith-ni-rheb-he*, may contain the suffixes *-rhe* and *-b*. The next two words are interesting as they show to what an extent composition was carried in the Meroitic language, the relative suffix *h* being attached to the whole complex 'kings of Napata.' The repetition of the plural symbol *-b* also illustrates the way in which grammatical agreement was indicated by the repetition of the same suffix. It is the same principle as that which is at work in Bantu grammar.

57. As the copulative conjunction is not expressed in Meroitic, it is difficult to say whether we have two princes here or the double name of the same king. In a mutilated passage on the Second Stela we read : *k'-e-l-b-h-l-n* : *M-h-r[-toh-s-n]* *a (?) m'-r'* : *a-y (?) s-gh (?)* : *p-r-i-s-l-i* : *sh (?) u (?) i (?) r'h'-gh* : *E-p (?) b-e-toh-gh* : *s-b* : *a-r* *k'-r* : *E-l-y*. The last word is probably the Al(a) of Amara, perhaps Alwa or Alu. *Maḥar-tosen* is a name of the same formation as Nas-tosen. Arros(a) was one of the 'rebel' countries conquered by Nastosen.

58. See note 8, on line 4. *Us* occurs several times in the Kalabsha inscription. Can it mean 'former,' 'formerly'?

59. The second element in the name is the same as that in Maḥar-tosen. In the corresponding passage (line 22) we have U(?)kan or Sh(?)kan.

60. In line 22 the *l* is clear.

61. In this and the following words we have a description of Amon-hotep instead of Teie as in lines 24, 25. The place of *tongel-he* is taken by *Pe-rhe-ge-s-l-ge* where the accumulation of suffixes is instructive. Since *Ape* is written *Pe* in the hymn from the Lion-temple, we may conclude that *Pe-rhe* = 'Hapi-born'; see *pe-ge* below, line 36.

62. The first letter may be *sh* instead of *u*. So too in line 37 (in both the first and the last word).

63. For the suffix *-pi* see notes 26 and 32, and cp. *garheyi-p* line 25.

64. The initial *e* is clear; what it denotes is unknown.

65. On the Second Stela, line 26, we find a word *e-p-e-b-h-l*.

66. 'The Place of Amon-hotep,' the original acropolis of Meroë and once the highest point of the city, was where the 'Painted Chamber' and pedestal now are and where the head of Augustus was found. Here on the right-hand door-post at the entrance I copied the inscription : *A-m-n-p-toh-l-i*, while on the column within the chamber was a graffito, consisting of an obliterated word followed by *A-m-n-p-toh* . .

67. I assume that *pi* is another form of *pe* (= *Hapi*); see note 52 above. At any rate *pi-rhe-l-ge* in line 40 corresponds with *h'rp-h-l-ge* in line 35, and therefore must have a similar meaning. Perhaps 'native-born' best expresses its signification, since *pi-rhe-b* is 'the cultivated land' of Meroë.

68. Here the relative suffix *-he* encapsulates the whole sentence beginning with [*Amn*]p. See note 56.

69. In the parallel passage *thnngi* is written *thinng* which indicates that the

choice of final *i* or *e* largely depended upon the character of the following sound. It also shows the equivalence of the two forms of *n*. There is an adjective derived from the root *th(i)n* which is used as a title.

70. The meaning of *a-rh-b* has already been pointed out by Mr. Griffith, 'the strategos of the water' being contrasted with 'the strategos of the *a-rh-b*' or 'inhabited lands.' On the Second Stela we read: *e-p-e-[b-h-l]* : *a-rh-b-l-u-i* : *th* (?) (or *e*)-*m-th-u-h-u* : *s-b* : *A-b-[e]-ioh-g-e-rh-e-toh-b-i* : *p-[e]-u-k'-e-s-l-u* : *A-b-e-toh*. *Abe* here seems = *Ape*.

In the cartouche at Dakka, a copy of which is given by Mr. Griffith (*Meroitic Inscriptions* II, No. 92), the name of the queen is written *Ren(a)s* without *Amon*, and *Agi-ni-rherhe* appears as *Agi-rherhe* without the possessive pronoun. The cartouche contains a list of the royal children who are called respectively *rh-e-t a-b-r-s-l* and *rh-e-t g-rh-e-s-l* 'man-child' and 'woman-child.'

The temple in which the Stelae were discovered appears to have been dedicated to Osiris as son of Hapi of Bigga, that is to say of the Nile.¹ The great value of it lies in the light it throws on the earlier history of Meroë, which was reputed to have been founded by *Amon-hotep III* and the kingdom placed under the vassal-king (*Mahartosen*) *Amon-arres*.

In my notes I have made allusions to a 'hymn' found in the temple of the Lion-goddess. That this is in metre and in couplets of three lines each is, I think, clear, and I hope before long to give an analysis of it.

Here I can notice only a graffito on the east wall of the temple-temenos south of the temple of *Amon*, which throws light on the form under which *Osiris* was worshipped on land as opposed to that under which he was worshipped as the son of *Hapi*. By the side of a picture representing an ass standing upright on its hind-legs and provided with a stomach similar to that of the hippopotamus-goddess in Egyptian art, in front of which a bird is standing, we read :

U-b-r-t m-l-s Sh'-r-e-i y-i-n-u-i rh-e-g-e-l-i :

Ubart(o) the governor to Osiris

N-g-e-r-i m-g-e rh-e-g-e-l-i : y-i-n-u-i-rh-i-l'

(&) *Nager* the god born of

1. Since the usual title of the Lion-goddess was *Ape-rhe-mag* 'the Hapi-born deity,' she must have been regarded as a sister of *Osiris* and consequently a form of *Isis*.

Here Nager must be the name of the ass-headed divinity, and it is tempting to see in *yinnu* the word for 'ass.' The writer of the graffito has left his name in another place, where he has spelt it U-b-r-h with ʁ instead of ʔ. The name means 'The Ubarian,' Ubar being doubtless the Uebar of the Stela.

1 Sic
 2 a
 3 d
 4 e
 5 k h sic g f
 6
 7
 8 m
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14

a. Read '11

b. III

c. certain

d. "o

Over large figure

e. (?)

f.

g. (?)

h. or

Over small figure

k.

l. (?)

m.

A MORTUARY CONTRACT OF THE XITH EGYPTIAN DYNASTY

By T. E. PEET

WITH PLATE XV

The Stela of Intef son of Myt

Every Egyptologist is acquainted with the inscriptions of the tomb chapel of Hapzefa at Asyut, describing the various contracts which he made with the priesthood of the temple of Upuawet for the presentation of certain offerings and the carrying out of certain ceremonies at his tomb after his death. Not all, however, are aware that we have in our British Museum an inscription describing contracts of a similar nature though of a less complicated kind.

This inscription is to be found on the stela of Intef the son of Myt. (Exhibition No. 134, Catalogue No. 1164. See *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.*, Part I, Pl. 55.) The stela consists of a large rectangular block of limestone inscribed on one face only. The provenance of this monument seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the scenes and inscriptions is as follows:— On the right is a standing figure of Intef with a staff in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Before him is a small offering table of the usual type. Above him are the words:—

‘The hereditary prince, the honoured one, Intef son of Myt.’

On the opposite side of the offering table is a small figure apparently bringing offerings to Intef. Above is written:—

‘The steward, Khepesh(?)—kau.’

The main inscription consists of fourteen horizontal lines reading from right to left. The uppermost runs across the whole breadth of the stela. The following eight are shortened by the presence on their right of the figure of Intef, and the last five are still further attenuated by the inseting of the figure of the steward.

Pl. XV gives the text which results from a collation of the published copy with the original.¹ The translation is as follows:—

1. The difficulties of collation are considerable for the stela is in a rather dark corner. I have tried to eliminate error by making four separate collations at different times during the last two years.

Translation

(1) 'The hereditary prince and count, chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, unique friend, lector and chief priest, Intef, child of Myt. (He) says. I was one firm of foot, persevering of plan, wise, clever, . . . of heart, one who fed (?) the great, who buried the aged, (2) who gave to the children with his own fingers (i.e. hands). I acquired (?) cattle, goats, clothes, . . . , silver (?), corn, spelt, . . . , consisting both of (3) what my own might gained and of what Nebhepetra gained for me, so greatly did he love me.

An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, chief of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, offerings of thousands of (4) bread and beer, flesh and fowl, cloth and thread, every good and pure thing, pure bread of the House of Mentu, tables of offerings in the House of Osiris, together with (?) . . . of the Mistress of (?) . . . , *zesert*-beer . . . the sacred cow, (5) two *shens*-cakes and two jugs of milk that are before (?) the mouth of Ra himself, libations of every god in the rich and pure temples (?); at the feast of the beginning of the year and the feasts of heaven, offerings of the (6) lord of the gods, bulls, oxen, cattle of the deserts, cranes, *ro*-geese and birds, bread of breaking (?), two vessels of beer, foods of the Lord of Abydos (7) and that on which the blessed ones love to feed, for the honoured one, Intef child of Myt, the excellent one, justified.

(He) says. I have made a contract with the mortuary priest (8) Nekhtiu, son of Irmeh . . . , son of Nekhut, for the pouring of water and the pouring out of libations, whilst the *mhwnw*-attendant holds out his arms to him . . . with the *shens*-bread and *iu*-cakes which are offered, going (?) and making offering (9) therewith to my statue in the course of every day. Moreover I have made a contract with the lector priest Intef, son of Mentunesu, son of Intef, son of Tetu (10) in order that service may be performed in the tomb and that the liturgy may be read for my majesty at every monthly festival and at every half monthly festival, in order that my name may be good and that (11) my memory may exist up to this day, and in order that the chapel of this excellent noble may be established. (12) Moreover I have given twenty packages (?) of clothes to this mortuary priest and I have given ten packages (?) to this lector priest, and a man-servant and a (13) maid-servant to each; and I allow him to cut a water-channel (??).

through (?) my fields in the irrigation (?) of each (14) year, in order that my name may live for ever and eternity : the honoured one in the sight of Mentu, Intef child of Myt.'

Notes on the text

1. 1. *Myt* (= cat) occurs as a name on Cairo M.K. stela 20428. *Tamyt* (the cat) is common in Rameside times.
dd. For the apparent omission of the subject see Sottas, *Rec. Trav.*, 36, 155.
mdd škr. *mdd* is 'to press,' especially of a path. Cf. the common epithet, *mdd wšt nt šmnk šw*, 'pressing close upon the path of him who makes him excellent.' Here it may be either intransitive, in which case *škr* is accusative of respect, 'persevering of plan,' or transitive, 'sticking close to law and order.' For this last use of *škr* see Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 7, 3.
fnk ib. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, 47.
šm wrw. For *šm*, possibly 'to feed,' cf. B.M. stela 197 (581), *tnk šm hkr*, 'I was one who fed the hungry.' The expression 'feeding the great' is curious. It is possible that we have here a confusion between *šm hkr* and *ššm wrw* (*Sšut*, VI, 264), due to the similarity of the verbs *šm* and *ššm*.
1. 2. *dti tft n nfnw m . . . dšf.* The damaged word is certainly *db'w*. For the form of the sign cf. Couyat Montet, *Inscr. du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Pl. XXXI. 1. 6.
iw trnt. For *trt*, in the sense of 'to acquire' or 'gain,' cf. Cairo M.K. stelae 20001 and 20011.
'nkt. Cf. Petrie, *Dendera*, Pl. VII, A, and Cairo M.K. stela 20001, where, however, the determinative is more like a sheep than a goat.
hbsw . . . pr hd, tt, bdt. The transliteration of the word after *hbsw* is uncertain. It can hardly stand for '*h*', a heap (of corn). In a stela, *Dendera*, Pl. X, we have a list of goods acquired which runs 'Lower Egyptian corn, spelt, gold, . . . , garments,' where the word not translated may be the same as that which we are discussing. The determinative indicates either a metal, a grain or a drug.

pr hq̄. Can this mean 'a private treasury,' or is it an error for *hq̄*, 'silver'?

I can suggest no translation for the signs which follow *bdt*. The uncertain sign is probably *r* and certainly not the eye (*tr*). The arm followed by the stroke should be a noun and the *r* and *i* which follow must be the preposition with 1st Pers. Sing. suffix.

1. 3. *m irt k̄pšt d̄st̄*. The sense is assured by a similar phrase in *Dendera*, Pl. XI, following a list of property as here, *irt.n(i) m k̄pš.(i) d̄s.(i)*, 'that which I acquired by my own might.'
m irt nt Nb-k̄pt-r̄. The use of *irt* is peculiar; it seems curious to speak of what Nebhepetra *acquired* for me.

Nebhepetra, or, as some still read it, Nebkherura, is one of the Mentuhoteps of the XIth Dynasty. This is hardly the place in which to discuss the point. See Naville and Hall, *Der el Bahari, XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, p. 4; Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, pp. 156 ff.; *Nachträge zur Aeg. Chron.*, p. 21; *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 42, p. 132.

1. 4. *t̄s w̄b n pr Mntu*. Cf. *B.M. Hierogl. Texts*, I, 47 and I. 50.
dbkwt k̄p m pr Is̄r. Cf. *B.M. Hierogl. Texts*, I, 47.

kn Of the signs following *pr Is̄r* the first is certainly an *k̄*. The next is probably *n*, in which case the two are part of *kn̄*, 'together with,' for any other word beginning with *kn* would need the biliteral phonetic sign *kn* (plant) where the *n* here stands. After this group stood a vertical sign, or group, followed by *nt*, which, having no determinative after it, must be the feminine genitive exponent. The sign below *nt* is either *k̄* or *nb*, probably the latter. The whole phrase is perhaps parallel to the last, 'together with . . . of the Mistress of . . .'

d̄srt̄. The next word might be either noun or adjective agreeing with *d̄srt̄*. The damaged sign is very narrow and had a vertical shaft. Cairo stela M.K. 20390 and B.M. stela 207 (193) mention a kind of *d̄srt̄*-beer called *d̄srt̄ w̄s̄st̄*. This may be what we have here but with only one *t̄*. Another possibility is *h̄qt̄*, 'white.' But since the word may well be a noun it is hardly worth while to discuss the merits of the various possible adjectives.

- l. 5. The *ḥstt*-cow seems to be mentioned in a list of offerings in B.M. stela 207 (193).

mhr, 'a milk jug.' Cf. *B.M. Hierogl. Texts*, I, 47, l. 2. The second vase determinative probably marks the dual; cf. *ndwy* in l. 6.

tpyw. After this word we must restore, above the *w*, ' , for which there is room, though all trace of it has disappeared on the stone. The compound, *tpyw*-*w*, can hardly mean 'ancestors' here and is more likely to be prepositional, in the sense of 'that which is before.' The next sign is doubtless, as the accompanying stroke suggests, an *r* ('mouth').

ḥbhw nw ntr nb m . . . After *m* we need a feminine plural noun of which only a vertical stroke and a *t* remain. The alternatives are *ḥwt*, 'temples,' or *śwt*, 'places.' Either would suit the space and the traces.

- l. 6. *ḏst*, 'a stork' or 'crane.' Cf. *Rhind Math. Pap.*, No. 82; *B.M. Hierogl. Texts*, I, 55; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, II, 61, 150.

ṯ n ḥsb. Cf. Cairo M.K. stela 20410. For *ḥsb* in the old sense of 'to break,' see *Ä.Z.*, 49, pp. 116 ff.

ndw is a rather uncommon word meaning 'vessel.' Cf. Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 4, 11; Ebers, 64, 6; *Hearst Med.*, 2, 6. The two vase determinatives perhaps mark the dual.

- l. 7. *mr rt ṯḥw wnm ṯm*. Cf. *B.M. Hierogl. Texts*, I, 50.

- ll. 7-8. *ḥm-kṯ* . . . The words which follow give the name of the priest and his father and grandfather in the usual Old Kingdom form. See Sethe in *Ä.Z.*, 49, 95 ff. The reading of the father's name is not certain. The sign below the eye may be *mḥ*.

- l. 8. *ḥnp ḥbhw* . . . The phrases which follow are perhaps the most difficult in the inscription. First comes quite clearly *mḥwnw*. Next is the face (*ḥr*), apparently without the accompanying stroke. Below that is a curved sign which is in part damaged. It is tempting to restore this as *św* which fits the traces fairly well. If in the next lacuna under the arm (‘) and stroke we restore another arm and stroke or two strokes

alone, which would fill the space admirably, we get *hr 3wt nf* 'wy.f, 'stretching out his arms to him,' which makes excellent sense (the phrase *3wt* ' being specially used of offering). The *mhwvw* assists in the offering ceremonies in *B.M. Hierogl. Texts*, II, 5. Of the following five signs I can make nothing.

hr 3ns . . . The next word looks like *iw* with a determinative possibly of a cake. It may be the same word that occurs in the offering list of *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 19 and 20.

prw is a participle agreeing either with *3ns* and *iw*, 'shens-bread and *iw* which come forth,' i.e., 'are offered,' or, less probably, with *hm k3*, 'coming forth.'

hr 3wt hr drp. The word transliterated *3wt* may be the infinitive of the old *3wt*, 'to go.' See *A.Z.*, 48, pp. 32 ff. Written with the *s* separated from the legs it could hardly read *sbt*, while *ms* being a 2-radical has for its infinitive *ms* and not *mst*.

1. 10. *w'bt*. See Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 26. Here probably 'tomb.'
1. 12. *rdint mn* 20. The stroke below the *mn* sign prevents our taking *mn* as the verb 'to abide' or 'to remain.' It is probably the noun given by Lacau in the index to his *Sarcophages* as meaning a 'package (or kind?) of clothes,' followed as here by the clothes sign. Later in the line the *mn* sign seems to have been inadvertently omitted by the scribe or sculptor.

Contents of the Inscription

It will readily be perceived that this inscription consists of three distinct portions. The first recounts the titles, virtues and wealth of Intef, incidentally enabling us to date the monument to the XIth. Dynasty, King Nebhepetra being one of the Mentuhoteps of this dynasty, though there is some doubt as to which (see note on text). The second portion contains in a very complete form the *nt3wt d3 htp* prayer for offerings to the deceased. The third part records the contracts made by Intef for the performance of certain offerings and ceremonies

in his favour after his death. The contracts are two in number, each made with a separate person. Contract No. 1 is rendered a little obscure owing to lacunae and difficulties of lexicography, but it is clear that the other contracting person is the mortuary priest Nekhtiu, and that the services contracted for are mainly the presentation of concrete offerings of food and drink to the statue of the dead Intef. Contract No. 2, made with the lector priest Intef, seems to provide not for concrete offerings but for the performance of certain ceremonies and recitations at the festivals of the month and of the half month. This division of labour between the two types of priest is quite in accordance with what we know of their functions from other sources, the duties of the lector priest (*hr /b*) being, as the English rendering attempts to indicate, those of reading and reciting rather than those of sacrifice and offering. The payment made for these services is last of all recorded. The mortuary priest receives 20 packages of clothing and the lector ten. In addition each receives a man servant and a maid servant together with a certain privilege connected with irrigation which, if I understand it correctly, is the right to cut a channel through Intef's land in order to secure water for the irrigation of their own. It appears from this that the prince's land lies between the river and that of the priests. The word *hw* could quite well mean 'inundation' (Cf. Anastasi I, 3, 7), but water channels would hardly be needed at that season.

We have not space here to enter into any discussion of these remarkable Egyptian contracts for service and offerings after death, nor of the wonderfully complex nature of the Egyptian civil code which is everywhere apparent in them.¹ It will suffice to point out how simple the present instances are compared with the ten contracts made by Hapzefa and recorded in his tomb at Asyut. The owner of our stela, Intef, holds the rank of hereditary prince and count, chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt, and unique friend, held by Hapzefa. Like him he is a chief priest, but he is in addition a lector. Whereas, however, Hapzefa offers as payment his share of certain offerings made in the temple to the staff of which he and the other contracting persons are members, Intef makes a definite payment in clothes, servants and irrigation rights. Owing to this much of the complexity of the Hapzefa contracts is avoided

1. They are well treated by Erman : *Ä. Z.* 20, 159 ff. and *Life in Ancient Egypt (Aegypten)*, Ch. VII. Cf. also Gardiner's chapter on the inscription of Amenhotep in *Tarkhan I*.

in those of Intef, there being here no necessity to insist on the somewhat subtle distinction between the giver's property as member of a priesthood and his property as a private individual.

ADDENDUM.—It was only when the above was ready for printing off that my attention was called to Dr. Lange's recent publication of the stela (*Sitzungsberichte der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1914 XXXVIII, pp. 991 ff.). Dr. Lange's experience has enabled him to clear up some questions which were dark to me. He has, however, missed some small points, and his text, based as it is on a photograph, is not and hardly could be quite accurate. In view of these two facts I feel that my text and notes may still have some small value, and am therefore publishing them unaltered.

I have to thank Dr. A. H. Gardiner for first drawing my attention to the stela and its importance.

ST. BASIL AND JULIAN THE APOSTATE: A FRAGMENT OF LEGENDARY HISTORY*

By W. R. HALLIDAY

No small interest attaches to a Byzantine carol published in the first volume of *Λαογραφία*.¹ Although, unfortunately, we are given no details as to the probable date of the manuscript from which it was copied beyond the statement that it belongs to the 'early Byzantine age,'² it evidently carries back to a considerable antiquity the Modern Greek practice of singing carols in honour of St. Basil on New Year's Eve.³ The Byzantine carol, however, is entirely dissimilar as regards its subject matter to any of those carols which are sung to-day, and, so far as I am aware, there is no parallel to it at all in Modern Greek poetry. But while the legend has not survived in carol form, it has survived as a popular tradition in Cappadocia, where it has been taken down from the lips of a native in the middle of the nineteenth century. Further, I hope to be able to demonstrate at least the probability that both carol and legend are derived from a literary source of the eighth or early ninth century A.D.

The carol runs as follows:—

IN PRAISE OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT.

A star thou appearedst, Basil,⁴
In the Bishopric of Caesarea.
St. Basil, holy one,
Guard and save thy flock.
Basil, the great archbishop,
Gave light to all his flock,
But Julian the transgressor
Wishes to go to Caesarea.
He wishes to go to Caesarea
And to ascend into Persia.

1. Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμεύς, 'Δύο Βυζαντινὰ κάλαντα,' *Λαογραφία*, I, pp. 564 foll.

2. The songs are described as *παλαιοβυζαντινῆς ὕψα ἐποχῆς*. The MS. is on the 19th page of codex 116, in the Library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, among the collection of Greek MSS. from the Monastery of the Precious Cross (τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ).

3. The Greek Church celebrates the festival of St. Basil upon January 1, the day of his birth, and not, with the Roman Church, upon June 14th, the traditional day of his consecration. An analysis of the various types of St. Basil carol sung in Modern Greece, will appear in the forthcoming volume of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XX.

4. The intellectual benefits conferred by Basil on the Church are habitually referred to in terms of this metaphor. Cf. *coeli instar resplendens* of *Horologium seu Horarium ad usum monasterii Cryptae ferratae*, etc., quoted *Acta Sanctorum* XXIII, p. 296.

* An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Liverpool, on January 29th, 1915, by the Rathbone Professor of Ancient History.

He sends and calls for Basil,
That he may meet the tyrant.
Three loaves he takes in his hands
And meets the tyrant,
Who, seeing the smallness of the gifts,
Eyed him angrily and says to him,
'If I ascend into Persia
And return to Caesarea,
I will destroy utterly thy flock
And the blessed monasteries.'
The Saint held a synod
He occupied the mountain of Didymus,
He found there the holy Mother of God
In the midst of the Church and standing there.

* * * *

He draws his pitiless broadsword
And beheads the tyrant.¹
Mercurius rejoices and is glad
And goes to Caesarea,
And turning back to Caesarea meets Basil.
And he meets Basil
Coming out of the church.
'Hail, and be of good cheer, Basil,
That the tyrant has been destroyed.
What boon wilt thou give me, Basil,
If the tyrant has been destroyed?'
'I have five gold pieces to give you,
I have silver pieces to give you,
I have carols to give you,
And through the ages may good luck be yours.'²

The concluding-lines unmistakably betray the cloven hoof of the carol singer, but the substance of the narrative quite clearly is derived from a piece of ecclesiastical literature. The account

1. Clearly there is a lacuna at the point indicated by asterisks, and the subject of this sentence is Mercurius. Mr. Keramévs has evidently failed to realise this.

2. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ὅσιον καὶ μέγαν Βασίλειον.

Ἀστρον ἀνεφάνης, Βασίλειε,
ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ μητροπόλει.
Ἄγιε Βασίλειε ὅσιε,
φύλαττε σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν σου.
Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς
ἔλην του τὴν πόλιν ἐφώτισεν,
Ἰουλιανὸς παραβάτης δὲ
βούλεται ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Καισάρειαν,
βούλεται ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Καισάρειαν
καὶ νὰ ἀναβῇ εἰς τὴν Περσίαν.
Πέμπει καὶ καλεῖ τὸν Βασίλειον,
νὰ συναπαντήσῃ τὸν τύραννον.
Τρεῖς ἄρτους λαμβάνει εἰς τὰς χεῖράς του
καὶ συναπαντᾷ τὸν τύραννον·
ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν τὰ δῶρα μικρότατα
ἀγριοματίσας καὶ λέγει του.
Ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὴν Περσίαν
καὶ ἀναστραφῶ εἰς Καισάρειαν,
ἔχω ἀφανίσαι τὴν πόλιν σου
καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλιον μοναστήρια.
Σύνοδον ἐποίησεν ὁ ἅγιος,

ὅρος τοῦ Διδύμου κατέλαβε·
ἦδρεν τὴν ἀγνὴν Θεομήτορα
μέσον τοῦ ναοῦ ἱσταμένην δέ.

* * * *

Σύρνει τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνέλετον
καὶ ἀποκεφαλίζει τὸν τύραννον.
χαίρει καὶ ἀγάλλει Μερκούριος
καὶ καταλαμβάνει εἰς Καισάρειαν,
καὶ ἀναστραφὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν
καὶ συναπαντᾷ τὸν Βασίλειον·
καὶ συναπαντᾷ τὸν Βασίλειον
ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐξερχόμενον·
Ἐχαιρε καὶ εὐφραίνει, Βασίλειε,
ὅτι ἀνῆρέθῃ ὁ τύραννος·
τίνα με χαρίσεις, Βασίλειε,
εἰς ἀνῆρέθῃ ὁ τύραννος;
Ἐχῶ σε χαρίσειν πέντε χρύσας,
ἔχῶ σε χαρίσειν ἀργύρια,
ἔχῶ σε χαρίσειν τὰ κάλανθα
καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας νὰ χαίρῃσαι.

given by the hagiologer is the most complete, and it clears up the incoherencies of the carol. For this reason I will quote it here before dealing with the Cappadocian legend.

An apochryphal *Life of St. Basil* exists which was falsely attributed to St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, a learned contemporary and friend of St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and with them a stalwart opponent of the Arian heresy.¹ Actually, however, the work which bears his name was composed in the eighth or possibly the ninth century A.D. It was translated into Latin by a certain Ursus Diaconus (858-867 A.D.), who already rejected as spurious those portions of the *Life* with which we are mainly concerned.²

The story of Julian's encounter with Basil is given as follows:—

'About that time when Julian, that most hateful emperor, was setting out against the Persians, he came to the parts about Caesarea. Now Basil, and companions with him, went out to meet him. Looking at him, the emperor said, "I have conquered you in philosophy, Basil." Basil, however, replied, "Would that you had become a philosopher!"'

'Then the saint offered him three loaves, from the provisions which he was carrying. But he, considering himself insulted by the smallness of the gift, ordered his attendants to take the loaves but to give hay in return. Basil accepted it and said, "We, sire, brought to you of that from which we are fed, but you returned to us that with which you feed beasts of burden. This truly you did to make a mockery of us, but all unwillingly you thereby give us the pasturage of this meadow." On hearing this Julian, because as emperor he was unable to revoke his favour, was transported with fury, and says to him, "It is true that my majesty has given you the pasturage of this meadow, but when I turn back again

1. St. Amphilochius is celebrated in both churches on November 23rd. His cult in his native town of Konia has had a curious subsequent history. Under the Seljuks his church was turned into a mosque, and, owing to the syncretising tendencies of the age of Ala-ed-din, became a joint place of worship for Moslems and Christians. For the Christians it remained the burial place of St. Amphilochius, while the Moslems claimed the tomb as that of Plato the Divine Philosopher. The dual cult is known to have persisted from the 13th—15th centuries. It has been stated that the church, which is still standing, contains to-day 'a spring of Plato.' See Hasluck, 'Plato in the Folk-lore of the Konia Plain,' *B.S.A.* XVIII, pp. 265 foll., and 'Christianity and Islam under the Sultans of Konia,' *B.S.A.* XIX, pp. 191 foll.

2. *Acta Sanctorum* (1867) XXIII, June III, pp. 416 foll. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXXIII, pp. 293 foll.

after conquering the Persians, I will level your city with the ground and plough it up, that it may be made fruitful of crops instead of being capable of producing and bringing up human beings. For I am not ignorant of the shamelessness of the people whom you have led astray, how with unbridled hatred they attacked Fortune, whom I adore as a goddess, after I had made libation to her with all due honour." With these words he departed into Persia. But Basil going into the city summoned the whole concourse of the people, and made official announcement of the emperor's words.'

St. Basil then collects requisitions with which to placate the emperor on his return. The citizens willingly bring their property to the bishop, who places it in the church treasury, after taking the precaution to mark each item with its owner's name. 'It is possible,' he said, 'that the Lord of Destiny may kill him and restore to you your property.'

The story continues in chapter 36 of the *Life*:—'Soon, therefore, he orders the clergy and the whole population of the city, together with women and little ones, to ascend the Mount of Didymus, where a very venerable temple of the Mother of God is had in honour and worship, and to wrestle in prayer three days of fasting, and to beseech God that He bring to naught the counsel of the wicked emperor.

'Now while they thus pray and watch with contrite heart, Basil sees in a vision a multitude of celestial soldiery all about the mountain, and in the midst of them, upon a glorious throne, a woman clad in feminine attire, who thus addresses those august men standing by her, "Call me Mercurius, and he shall go to slay Julian." And indeed the saint, clad in his complete panoply, immediately presenting himself at her command, forthwith departed.

'Basil, however, she summoned to her and gave to him a book, in which was written the full narrative of creation and last of all the making of man by God. Moreover, in the beginning of the book was this writing, "Speak," but at the end of it, where was written the making of man, "Have mercy." Then he took up the book and read it before her, up to that writing "Have mercy," and immediately, moved alike by fear and joy, he cast down the book.

‘Moreover, Libanius, the Sophist, also beheld a vision to the same effect on that very night, being with Julian in Persia and performing the duties of quaestor.

‘Basil, therefore, amazed by the vision, aroused only Eubulus, and went down with him into the city and came to the shrine of the blessed martyr Mercurius, in which had been placed both the saint himself and his arms. And when he had sought for them, they were not to be found. Then he called the guardian and asked him where in the world they were. But he replied on oath that in the evening they had been where they were always kept.

‘Basil, therefore, was convinced that his vision was certainly true, and after giving glory to God, who does not despise them who put their trust in Him, with great ardour and inexplicable joy returned as swiftly as possible to the mountain, while all are yet asleep. Awakening those whom he had left there, and exhorting them to prayer, he announced in a voice of exultation the happy message of the revelation divinely made to him, that on that night the tyrant had been removed. And when the common vows of all had been performed and thanks rendered, he returned to the city, enjoining all that they should be in the Great Church and partake in Divine Service.’

The rest of the account may be summarised. A hitch in the ceremony in the Great Church enables Basil to detect the fact that a deacon is casting sheep’s eyes at a lady in the congregation. The deacon is discomfited, and special orders are issued as to the segregation of women during divine service. Then at the end of seven days, enter Libanius. He narrates the death of Julian, and, most unhistorically, falls at the feet of Basil, is received into the Church and made the *contubernalis* of Basil and Eubulus. There only remains the moral effect of these events upon the people. Basil calls together the owners of the property deposited against the evil day of Julian’s return. ‘What!’ they cry, ‘When we make these requisitions for an earthly lord, shall we grudge them to the Lord of all?’ And the Church accepts their pious offering in the suitable spirit.

The modern oral tradition, which we must next examine, was collected at Indje Su, a few hours’ journey from Caesarea.¹ The

1. Carnoy et Nicolaïdes, *Traditions populaires de l’Asie Mineure*, pp. 187-190.

story runs that Julian and Basil were fellow-students at Athens. In later years, upon his journey to Persia, Julian came to Caesarea and ordered dishes to be sent to him from the archiepiscopal table. The ascetic saint thereupon sent the emperor a piece of barley bread and a few roots. Julian was displeased by so meagre an offering, and replied by sending grass to the bishop. Basil examined it: 'There are no roots in this,' he said. 'This is food for beasts; take it to the emperor.' Enraged by the somewhat pointed retort, Julian promised to sack Caesarea on his way back. When the time came, and it was heard that Julian was returning, offerings and cooked dishes were placed along the line of his approach,¹ while Basil and his people retired to pray upon the mountain which has since borne the name of the saint. There in a dream the archbishop saw the Virgin making intercession with her Son to save Basil. Then he was wrapped in a trance. He saw Julian surrounded by his officers beseeching them to protect him against an advancing warrior, who remained, however, invisible to all except the emperor and the watching saint. The warrior struck his blow and the emperor died. The event thus miraculously witnessed by St. Basil happened at a place called Lalé Bély, between Caesarea and Sivas. The invisible warrior, who delivered Caesarea, was St. Mercurius,² a martyr of the preceding century. Proof positive of this was afforded by the fact that when Basil visited his shrine, immediately on re-entering the city, he found the saint's forehead still damp with sweat, and the spear which had been rested against the wall bore fresh blood-stains upon it.

The question first arises as to the relation of the modern oral version to the story given in the *Life*. That the former is a genuine tradition I have little doubt. Its sponsors, though they may sometimes err in the too literary presentment of their popular material, are honest and conscientious collectors. The other possibility, which in cases of alleged survivals from antiquity must always be

1. 'Portez aussi, dit il, des pâtes délicieuses, car Julien aime les mets exquis.' These cooked dishes are evidently an embroidery upon the new turn given to the incident of the three loaves. The suggestion of gluttony is singularly inappropriate to the character of the author of *Misopogon*.

2. St. Mercury of Caesarea was a soldier, eventually promoted to high rank. Under Decius he confessed Christianity, and after many tortures was beheaded at Caesarea on October 25th. His festival falls upon November 26th. Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 258-9.

considered, that they have been deceived by a narrator, who is foisting upon them as a popular legend the fruits of his erudition, is most unlikely. No one who has been to Indje Su will suppose that the Pseudo-Amphilochian *Life* is accessible to the school-master, while further the localisation of the death of Julian and the minor differences in the modern narrative point to independence—at least in modern times.

The ultimate relation between the two versions is a more difficult question to decide. Is the oral tradition a lineal descendant from the written *Life*, or does it represent the survival of an independent version of a popular tradition upon which the author of the *Life* drew for his material?

In the course of ten centuries of transmission from mouth to mouth stories naturally suffer modification, and some at least of the differences between the two versions demand no other explanation. There is firstly the difference in the story of the three loaves. The incident in the *Life* obviously derives its point from a custom relating to land tenure. Julian is angry because, when supposing himself to be insulting Basil, he discovers that he has been tricked into granting the rights of pasturage by his action. Clearly when the symbolical custom died, the passage would not be understood, and Basil's insult to Julian, a very slight modification of the story after all, supplies the missing motive of the emperor's wrath.

Mount Didymus, again, which appears both in the carol and the *Life*, does not appear in the oral version. As to how the name Didymus got into the story I will later make a suggestion. Clearly in Cappadocia this name would not survive, for there is but one mountain *par excellence* for dwellers on the Cappadocian plain. True to the south they can see the rocky barrier of the Taurus, but there is one isolated giant, at whose foot both Caesarea and Indje Su are placed, which everywhere dominates the scene stretching before the traveller's gaze. It is, of course, Argæus, to which the Armenian dwellers of the parts about Caesarea have inevitably transferred the ark legends of their native Ararat. And it is to the Ali Dagħ, three peaks which rise among the foothills of Argæus directly behind Talas, that St. Basil retires in the popular legend. Christians to-day hold the mountain sacred to the saint, and twice yearly pilgrimages are made to it at sunrise.¹

1. Carnoy et Nicolaïdes, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

The *Life* contains the story of the book, which the oral tradition does not. But the book is very much dragged in, and forms no integral part of the story. I am not sufficiently well versed in apocalyptic writings to do more than hazard the suggestion that it has a family relationship to the 'little books' of the *Apocalypse of St. John*, and is probably a variant of a commonplace of Christian legend.¹

The difference, again, in the signs, by which the Bishop is made certain of the identity of the ghostly assassin, is trivial; the incident is merely elaborated in more concrete and improbable detail in the modern version.

In the case, however, of the visions of St. Basil, the difference between the two versions is more radical. In the oral variant there are two distinct episodes. (1) St. Basil in a dream sees the Virgin making intercession to save Caesarea. (2) He witnesses in a trance the death of Julian. In the *Life*, on the other hand, he sees the Virgin despatch St. Mercurius upon his mission of executioner. At first sight it would appear an attractive hypothesis to suppose that these accounts go back ultimately to a common popular tradition which the oral version has preserved in an older and more clumsy form, but I believe it to be untenable. It became increasingly clear to me that the story of Basil and Julian is ultimately to be derived, not to popular tradition, but to a single inventor, a fact which is betrayed by the very obvious influence of the abuse of documents upon his narrative. Whoever was responsible for the legend, had quite clearly read Sozomen. The features of the oral story, which do not belong to the extant literary tradition, are alterations due to the dramatic instinct of subsequent storytellers, and it seems probable that the story entered popular tradition in the first place from the circulation of the apochryphal *Life*, just in the same way that in modern times cheap editions of the *Arabian Nights* have enormously spread the vogue of certain fairy tales in the popular tradition of Europe, or Perrault's masterpiece reacted upon English nurseries.

The story, which is common to our sources, is of course

1. Cf. for example the book which, in the account of the Arian Philostorgius, appears among the portents which prohibited Julian's scheme for the re-erection of the Jewish temple. Photius, *Epit. Philostorg.*, VII, 14.

thoroughly unhistorical. It is true that Basil and Gregory were students at Athens at the time of Julian's visit to the University, but here we part company with fact. There is no reason to suppose that Julian went to Caesarea on his way to Antioch in the autumn of 362. It was very considerably out of his way on his journey through the Cilician gates. If he did, Basil was not bishop at the time. St. Basil was consecrated in 370, seven years and a few days after the death of Julian. Further, the emperor was killed beyond the Tigris by a Persian lance more probably than by the weapons of an avenging Christian saint. But it is interesting to observe that although the story is of this legendary character, almost all its individual features can be accounted for, and the kernel of the tradition, of which we have seen the fully-developed forms, came into existence almost immediately after the death of Julian.

It is not unnatural, perhaps, that the Christians hated Julian with a hatred so bitter that the fathers of the Church become petty in their vituperations and fling reckless charges, which they know to be untrue. Even when allowance is made for theological zeal, St. Gregory of Nazianzen cuts a sorry figure in his relations with the pagan emperor. The Final Cause of the triumph of Christianity lies beyond the province of the historian; even on grounds of human policy its victory was inevitable and just. But the recognition of this truth need not blind us to the virtues of the imperial champion of a lost cause.

Julian was honest and sincere in his convictions, and as truly as any Christian father believed that he was fulfilling a Divine mandate. To the modern his creed may seem cold and inhuman, but it was not ignoble;¹ indeed its very inhumanity is due to the exacting character of its demands and its indignant refusal to compromise with human frailty. Practically it could never have endangered the victory of Christianity. The later Paganism is too severely aristocratic (if a perhaps pedantic use of that epithet be permitted), and it is too intellectual in temper. For the common man there is little left but blind ritual observance, and they are

1. A sympathetic study of the religion of Julian is to be found in Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, pp. 157 foll., and the same author's 'A Pagan Creed,' *New English Review*, December, 1909.

few amongst the professors of any creed who would be able to sustain their spiritual life with the fierce moral enthusiasm which satisfied a Julian or a Marcus Aurelius.

In personal conduct certainly Julian does not suffer by comparison with the leaders of the Church. It is one of the ironies of history that the great apostate and the champions of orthodoxy are divided by a difference of creed rather than by a difference in their ideals of conduct, and judged by the impartial standard of principles and their practice, St. Basil and Julian are equally the products of the noblest spiritual tendencies of their time. In the matter of policy, indeed, the conduct of the emperor contrasts favourably with that of the ecclesiastics, particularly as his power was greater.

That Julian should have disliked and despised the Christians is not perhaps surprising. His experience of Christianity as practised by Constantius, the murderer of his relatives and the patron of a horde of eunuchs and minions of luxury, had been, to say the least, unfortunate. His own sympathies were deeply aroused by classical art and literature and the ancient gods. And at an impressionable age he had fallen into the hands of teachers of imagination and distinction. He hated the Galilean iconoclasts who destroyed and defiled the shrines of antiquity.¹ He misinterpreted the humanity of the Christian faith as a pandering to vice and a base betrayal of the ideals of conduct.²

But much as he loathed the religion, to which for the greater part of his life³ he had been forced to yield a formal adherence particularly galling to one of his sensitive character, he was never the mere oppressor. Had he been less tolerant, he might have been less hated, for not the least of his crimes in the eyes of the

1. Cf. *Misopogon* 346, B.

2. ἡ δὲ [Τρυφή] ὑπολαβοῦσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πῆχεσι πέπλοις τε αὐτὸν ποικίλοις ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλλωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρὴν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, "Ὅστις φθορεῖς, ὅστις μαιφύουσ, ὅστις ἐναγῆς καὶ βδελυρὸς, ἔτω θαρρῶν" ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτοῖ τῷ ὕδατι λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρὸν, κἂν πάλιν ἐνοχὸς τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δώσω τὸ στήθος πληῆναι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαροῦ γενέσθαι." Julian, *Symposium*, 336. He notes the political advantage of the Christian appeal to the poor and afflicted in his advice to a priest, 305c. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἶμαι συνέβη τοῖς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παρορωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κατανοήσαντες ἐπέθεντο ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χερίστων τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκμοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράνυναν.

3. As late as 360 we find Julian participating in the festival of the Epiphany in Paris. *Amm. Marc.* XXI, 2, 4-5.

orthodox was the equal tolerance extended to Arians and Jews.¹ The specific acts of oppression which have been alleged, a typical instance we shall have cause to mention later, appear at least in the majority of cases to fulfil the demands of an equal justice for Pagans as for Christians.²

On two grounds Julian had earned the hatred of the Nicene Christians. Not only was he the apostate champion of the revival of Paganism, but, further, he 'sowed dissension among the faithful': in other words, he extended the same tolerance to Arians as to the orthodox. In consequence, his death was hailed with jubilation by the Church, and while some Christian authorities are baffled by the mystery which enshrouds the details of the event, all are agreed that it was a manifestation of Divine Providence.³ The identity of the agent was disputed, and as against the story of the Persian horseman or the rebellious soldier, it was widely believed that the blow had been delivered by supernatural agency. Tales were told of the visions by which the happy news was miraculously revealed to ascetics and fathers of the Church. It was reported that with his failing breath the Emperor had confessed that the Galilean had conquered, and those reckless charges of human sacrifice which have provided a weapon in turn to Paganism against Christianity,⁴ to Christianity against the Jews, and more legitimately to the orthodoxy of all ages, against the practitioners

1. See Sozomen, V 5, *ib.* V, 22. Gregory *Or.* V, 3.

2. It is true of course that the pagans sometimes took advantage of the emperor's good will. Julian himself admits it. *οἱ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη, τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, ὃ δὴ δέδοται παρ' ἐμοῦ πρῶην, οὕτως ἐπαρθέντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπέξελθεῖν τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἢ βουλομένῳ μοι ἦν.* Julian, *Misopogon*, 361, A.

3. Ammianus, who served on the campaign, describes how, imprudently rushing to rally his troops without waiting to don his breastplate, Julian was mortally wounded by a Persian lance. After first aid had been rendered, he insisted on returning to the fighting line and only retired to face dissolution, when his spirit alone could no longer sustain his failing strength. Amm. Marc. XXV, 3. Two typical Christian accounts of a comparatively judicial character may be quoted. 'Julianus enim in Perside sublatu8 est, aliis quidem Persae cuidam transfugae mortem imputantibus, aliis vero alicui e militibus. Sed verisimilius est a pluribusque creditum divinitus illum interfectum esse. Photius, *Bib.* 484, 6. Τὸν μέντοι τὴν δικαίαν ἐκείνην ἐπενεγκόντα πληγὴν οὐδεὶς ἔγνω μέχρι καὶ τήμερον. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τινὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ταύτην αὐτῷ ἐπενηροχέαντα φασίν· οἱ δὲ τῶν νομάδων ἕνα, τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καλουμένων, ἄλλοι δὲ στρατιώτην τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὴν ἔρημον δυσχεράναντα. Ἀλλ' εἴτε ἄνθρωπος εἴτε ἄγγελος ὥστε τὸ ζῆφος, δῆλον ὡς τοῦτο δέδρακε τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεύματος γεγονός ὑπουργός. Theodoretus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* III, 20, Migne, *Pat. Gr.* LXXXII, p. 1120. Gregory already gives the human alternatives in his second *Invective*, clearly he regards the event as a manifestation of God's will, but supernatural agency is not yet suggested. Greg. *Or.* V. 13.

4. Cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 30.

of Black Magic, supplied a suitable prelude to the end of the champion of the ancient gods.¹

On their side, the friends of the dead emperor were not slow to formulate the charges, which Christianity so eagerly welcomed. Libanius, the first professor of his age, arguing from the principle *cui bono*, asserts the guilt of the Christians in a series of orations, as truly eloquent as the prevailing cult of rhetoric allowed. The last, indeed, consists of an explicit appeal for vengeance on the murderers of his imperial friend and pupil.

'The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of Divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria and Cappadocia; and instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith. Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice or credulity of their adversaries, who darkly insinuated, or confidently asserted, that the governors of the Church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic assassin.'²

Clearly it is to this body of Christian legend, which collected almost immediately round the death of Julian, that our stories ultimately go back. They represent, however, a comparatively late form. Not without reason, Gibbon had conjectured that the 'dark and ambiguous expression' of Libanius 'may point to Athanasius, the first, without a rival, of the Christian clergy.' And, indeed, it would seem that, in spite of providing posterity with a proverb and giving his name to a creed, the invincible Athanasius has been ousted from his preeminence in hagiological tradition by his younger contemporary.

In Sozomen, however, Basil has not yet come into the story; Athanasius is still the pillar of the Church to whom the legends naturally attach themselves. Written in the middle of the fifth

1. The charges of human sacrifice are recklessly hurled at Julian by Gregory and Basil in the first *Invective*, Gregory Naz., *Or.* IV, 92. For the specific instance alleged to have preceded the final scene *v.* Theodoretus, *loc. cit.*, who also gives the 'Vicisti Galilaeae' story.

2. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, cap. XXIV (ed. Bury, vol. II, pp. 528-529).

century, the ecclesiastical history of Sozomen represents the tradition definitely established (and doubtless current earlier) a century after Julian's death.

This most Christian author gives two stories of the miraculous revelations of the death of the apostate.¹

According to the first, a friend of the Emperor Julian was on his way to Persia to join him. He was forced by lack of other accommodation to sleep in a church, a fate that may well befall the modern traveller in the Levant. While asleep he dreamed a dream. He saw the apostles and prophets in council, debating what steps should be taken to remove the imperial menace to the Church. At length two of their number, bidding their fellows to set their minds at ease, left the assembly. Alarmed by what he had witnessed, the friend of Julian dared not continue his journey, but waited with breathless interest the issue of the second dream which he confidently expected. On the second night he saw once more the assembly of prophets and apostles. Then the two entered and announced the death of Julian.

The second story tells how Didymus, an ecclesiastical philosopher at Alexandria, was grieved at Julian's apostasy. Incessantly he fasted, prayed and supplicated on behalf of the transgressor. At length, worn out by his austerities, he fell into a sleep of exhaustion. In his sleep he saw a vision of white horses, and heard a voice which said to the riders, 'Go and tell Didymus that Julian has been slain, and let him arise and tell these things to Athanasius the bishop.'

Story 1, it will be noticed, conforms in general structure to the vision of the apocryphal life, but as yet we have neither the Virgin nor St. Mercurius as protagonists.

Story 2 in type differs from the traditions which we have been examining, but it contains points of interest. Firstly, in the tradition of the latter half of the fifth century, it is still Athanasius and not Basil who is the recognised head of the Christian party. Secondly, there is, to my mind, but little doubt that the author of the apocryphal *Life* and the carol based upon it was clumsily familiar with Sozomen. In both documents occurs Mount Didymus. Now the only Didymean mount with which classical

1. Sozomen, VI, 2.

scholars are familiar is an holy place it is true, but it is a far cry from Caesarea. Here at least is no local continuity between a Christian and a Pagan shrine. I cannot help believing that the appearance of Mount Didymus in the Christian tradition represents a contamination of the classical Mount Didyma with that worthy Christian writer Didymus, associated by Sozomen with the cycle of legends about Julian's death.

Two centuries after Sozomen the story has developed, and for the first time, so far as I am aware, St. Basil and St. Mercury figure as the *dramatis personae*, while already we have the anachronism of St. Basil being bishop at the time of Julian's death. The tale is given in identical words by the *Chronicon Paschale* and John Malalas.¹ The latter, who copied from the *Chronicon*, adds only the comment that 'the account of the learned Eutropius, the Chronicler, does not in all points agree with this narrative.' Though true enough, this fact is less surprising when we remember that Eutropius was not a Christian.

The tradition, firmly established by the middle of the seventh century, is to the following effect. On the night of Julian's death, St. Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, saw in a dream the heavens open and the Saviour sitting upon a throne. He heard Him order Mercurius to go and slay Julian, the enemy of Christianity. The saint appeared before the Lord in his iron breastplate and departed on his mission, shortly to return with the report that Julian was dead, slaughtered in accordance with the Divine command. The cry of the victorious saint disturbed the even tenour of Basil's dream. He woke troubled, for Julian was a friend of his.² At dawn St. Basil came down to the church and told the congregation of his vision and that Julian was dead. And all besought him to be silent and not to mention any such thing.

This undoubtedly is the legend which is the parent of our more circumstantial story of the following century. As a matter of

1. *Chronicon Paschale*, Migne, *Patr. Graec.* XCII, pp. 747-750. In this document additions have been made up to the year 1042, the significant portions of the work however range from the creation of Adam to 630 A.D., and are the work of two authors, one of whom laid down his weary pen in 354, while the second brought the chronicle up to the reign of Heraclius. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XIII, 333-334, Migne, *Patr. Graec.* XCVII, pp. 497-500.

2. *ἐτίμα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Βασίλειος Ἰουλιανὸς, ὡς ἐλλόγιμον καὶ ὡς συμπράκτορα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ συνεχῶς.*

detail, the most unhistorical friendship between Basil and Julian is worthy of notice. The watcher in the church was 'a friend of Julian,' and the Christian friend who miraculously learns the emperor's death we have met also in the person of Didymus. I fancy that the author of the *Life* had in mind the tradition of the student friendship to inspire his narrative of the greeting of the bishop and the emperor.

It is true, of course, that St. Gregory and St. Basil were studying at Athens at the time of Julian's visit to that home of learning. But apart from Gregory's account of his sagacious estimate of Julian's character, which suffers from the suspicion attaching to all prophecy published after the event,¹ it is most improbable that a close friendship can have been formed between the emperor and the two Christian theologians at a time when Julian was covertly being initiated into the pagan mysteries and his real adherence to the ancient gods was an open secret.

On general grounds, it is easy to understand how St. Basil came to supersede Athanasius as the typical champion of Christendom. Her debt to the learning of the great founder of monasticism the Church has rightly recognised. Nor has popular tradition lagged behind, as could easily be illustrated from the folklore of the Nearer East. By far the greatest of that great trio, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and St. John Chrysostom, worshipped by the Eastern Church under the title of the Three Theologians, is the Bishop of Caesarea.

There are further reasons why in the legend, which we have before us, the rôle of the Christian protagonist against Julian should be transferred from Athanasius to Basil. In the first place, St. Basil was in part author of the celebrated invectives against Julian published by Gregory shortly after the emperor's death.²

Again an actual conflict on religious matters between Julian and the citizens of Caesarea has certainly provided material for our legend. Julian's dealings with the town are naturally represented

1. Gregory *Oratio* V. (*Contra Julianum* II), 23-24. τότε τολύων οὐ φαῦλος ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰκαστῆς οἶδα γενόμενος, καίτοι γε οὐ τῶν εὐ πεφυκότων περὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἄν. Ἄλλ' ἐπεί μὲ μαντικὸν ἢ τοῦ ἡθους ἀνωμαλία καὶ τὸ περιττὸν τῆς ἐκστάσεως κτλ. So far from being a friend, Gregory claims that in these student days he prophesied to friends that Julian was to be the scourge of the Roman empire. οἶον κακὸν ἢ Ῥωμαίων τρέφει!

2. Gregory, *Or.* V, 39. ταῦτά σοι Βασίλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος κτλ.

by our authorities as an example of tyrannical oppression. The impartial historian, however, must admit that in this, as in similar instances, there is much to be said in favour of the emperor. Most of them upon analysis turn out to be cases where the Christians had demolished some temple and buried a bishop or built a church amongst its ruins, or where attacks upon the pagans justified punishment at the hands of a pagan emperor.

The citizens of Caesarea at this time appear to have been divided into a series of fanatical religious factions. There was continual disorder, not only between Pagans and the Church, but also between the various parties into which the Christianity of the day was divided.¹ In the course of one of these riots the people of Caesarea had merited punishment by destroying the temple of the Fortune of the City, the one pagan shrine which Christian zeal had permitted to survive into the reign of Julian.²

I have little doubt that the inventor of our legend had not merely the event but Sozomen's account of it in mind.³ According to this, Caesarea was erased from the catalogue of cities and deprived of the imperial title conferred upon it by Claudius. All property belonging to the churches was confiscated to the public treasury. The clergy were enrolled for military service. The emperor threatened further that, unless the temples were speedily re-erected, he would visit his anger on the city until none of the Galileans remained alive. 'And perhaps his threats would have been executed,' says the historian, 'had not death intervened.'⁴

It seems certain that here we have the source alike for the threat to destroy Caesarea on the return from Persia⁵ and for the requisition of property to appease the emperor.

The last historical fact which has played a part in the fabrication of our story is the actual conflict between Basil and the Arian Valens, hated only less than Julian by the orthodox

1. See Gregory, *Or.* XVIII, 33.

2. Gregory, *Or.* IV, 92.

3. Sozomen, V, 4.

4. ἐξέβη δ' ἄν ἴσως εἰς ἔργον ἡ ἀπειλή, εἰ μὴ θάπτον ἐτελεύτησεν.

5. Probably this motif owes something also to the passage in the *Second Invective* which begins ταῦτά σοι Βασίλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος. The significant words are καὶ τελευτάλους ἐταμείον τῷ διωγμῷ καὶ δῶρον ἐπινίκιον ἴσως ἐπενόεις τοῖς δαίμοσι μέγα τι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, εἰ σε ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος ὑποδεξωμέθα ἀπανήκοντα, ἢ καὶ συναρπάσειν πρὸς τὸ σὸν βάραθρον ἡλπίσας, κακῶς οὐόμενος. Greg. *Or.* V, 39.

historians,¹ in which St. Basil gained a notable victory.² After attempting in vain to coerce him by the threats of his officials, Valens came into personal contact with the archbishop. His somewhat impressionable character appears to have been dominated by the personality of St. Basil, and he not only confirmed him in his bishopric but took part in public worship conducted by him. Shortly afterwards, however, the enemies of orthodoxy gained the imperial ear, and sentence of banishment was pronounced, though it was immediately revoked on the dangerous illness of the emperor's son. Basil was summoned to help, and St. Gregory believes that his prayers would have proved efficacious had the imperial house put their sole trust in orthodox ministrations.³

A subsidiary element in our legend may also have come from this true story of St. Basil's victory over an emperor. For it seems that the land on which was built the great hospital outside Caesarea, by Gregory advantageously compared with the two Thebes of Greece and Egypt, the Walls of Babylon, the Mausoleum, the Pyramids, and the Colossus of Rhodes,⁴ was given to Basil for the purpose under an imperial grant. Is it fanciful to derive to this fact the origin of the land tenure story of the Amphilochian *Life*?

It would seem that at least a plausible hypothesis that our story is not in the first instance the result of a genuinely popular accretion of legend round the name of a great man. Its main features are artificial; it has been deliberately constructed by some person who had access to at least the majority of the written documents we have quoted. The unknown author, who sat down in the eighth century to foist upon the world a *Life* of St. Basil, which purported to be written by St. Amphilochius, is responsible for our legend. He had certainly studied Sozomen; he was probably familiar with the works of Gregory. And the basis of his narrative is no longer difficult to perceive.

1. ὁ μετὰ τὸν διώκτην, διώκτης, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀποστάτην, οὐκ ἀποστάτης μὲν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμείνων Χριστιανός, μᾶλλον δὲ Χριστιανὸν τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ μέρει, καὶ καθαρωδέτῳ, καὶ προσκυνητῇ τῆς Τριᾶδος, ἣν δὴ μόνην εὐσέβειαν ἐγὼ καλῶ, καὶ δόξαν σωτήριον. *Greg. Or. XLIII, 30.*

2. An account of this conflict is to be found in Gregory. *In Praise of Basil the Great, Or. XLIII, 48-55.* Sozomen, VI, 16. Gibbon, *op. cit.* III, pp. 26-27.

3. καὶ εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄλμην τῷ ποτίμῳ ὕδατι συνεκέρασεν, ὁμοῦ τε τούτων εἰσαλέσας, καὶ τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις πιστεύουσιν, κἂν ὕγειας τυγχῶν ὁ παῖς ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς χερσὶν ἀπεσώθη. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστεύετο παρὰ τῶν τηνικαῦτα παρόντων καὶ κοινούντων τοῦ πάθους. *Greg. Or. XLIII, 54.*

4. Gregory, *Or. XLIII, 63.*

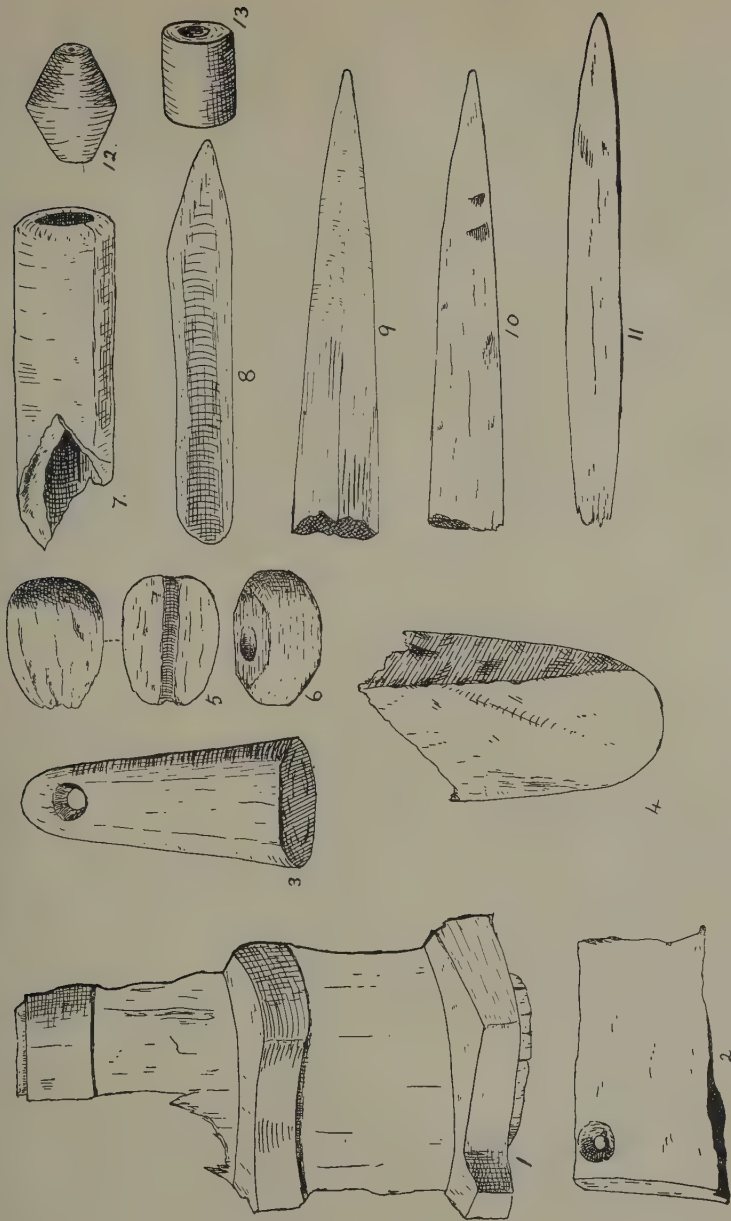
For historical facts he had the following:—

- (1) Julian and Basil were studying at Athens at the same time.
- (2) During Julian's reign the Christians of Caesarea were punished for destroying the temple of Fortune.
- (3) St. Basil came victorious out of a conflict with an emperor who was an enemy to orthodox Christianity.
- (4) Valens gave Basil some land on which to build his celebrated hospital.

As regards tradition, he had, of course, the whole body of Christian legend which collected round the death of Julian. And already before his time St. Basil had come to the front in place of Athanasius.

For literature, it would seem that most use has been made of Sozomen. The insertion of Mount Didymus probably, and the narrative of Julian's threat to Caesarea almost certainly are derived from his pages.

The very existence of the carol and the modern legend are testimony to the popularity of the *Life*, at least in the Eastern Church. Evidently the carol is the work of some author who wished to adapt the story of the *Life* to the popular use of singing songs connected with St. Basil upon New Year's Eve. It is interesting to have this popular practice established for so early a date, but more interesting still is the existence of the modern legend. It shows that this story, which, if our analysis is sound, is a purely artificial production, has enjoyed a continued existence ten centuries at least after it took shape. It is, indeed, a witness to the appalling longevity of picturesque tradition, and to students of folklore a warning. Even legends of known antiquity may ultimately be derived from a laborious invention based upon garbled documents.



Objects of Ivory (Figs. 1-6), Bone (Figs. 7-11), and Dolomite and Socleite (Figs. 12 and 13) from Faragab.

Fig. 1 about $\frac{3}{8}$, 12 and 13 about $\frac{1}{4}$, all the rest natural size.

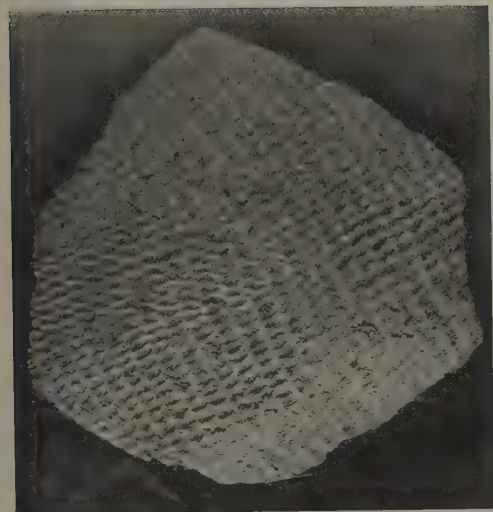


FIG. 1.

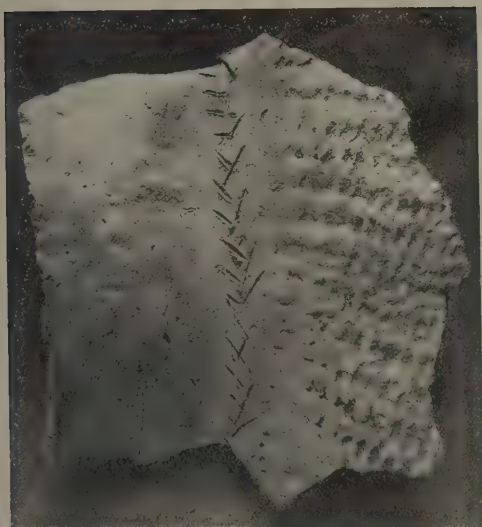


FIG. 2.

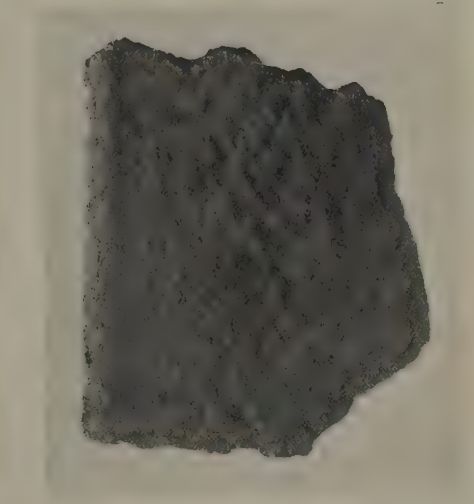


FIG. 3.

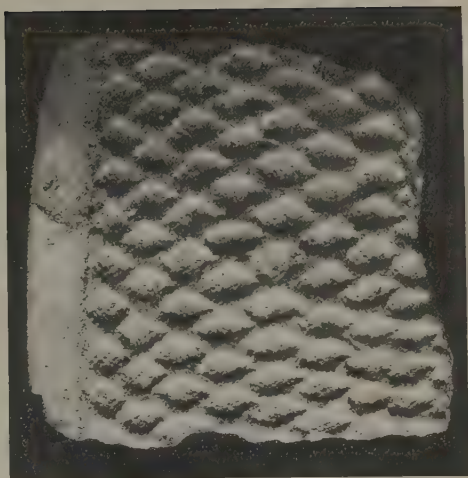
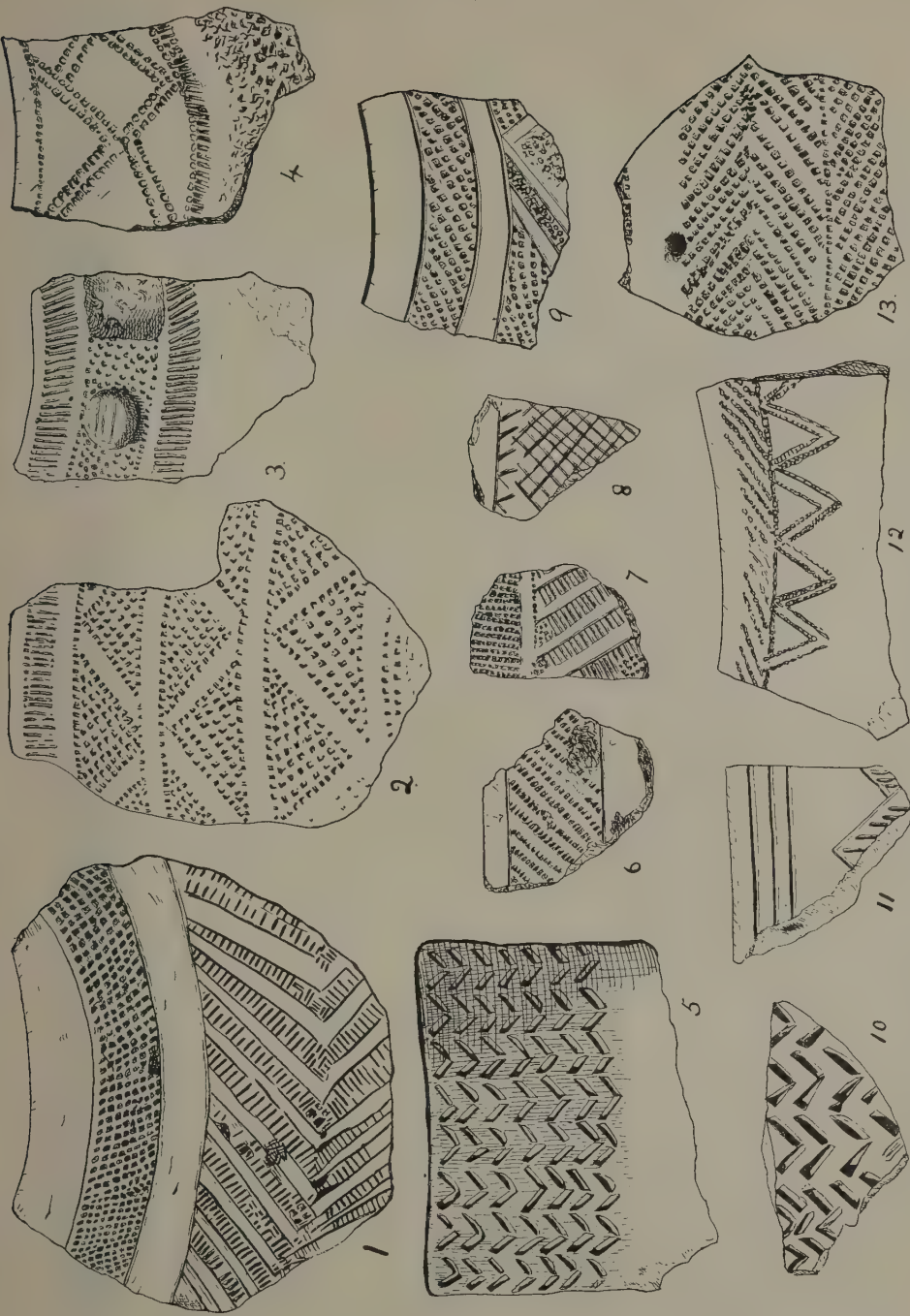
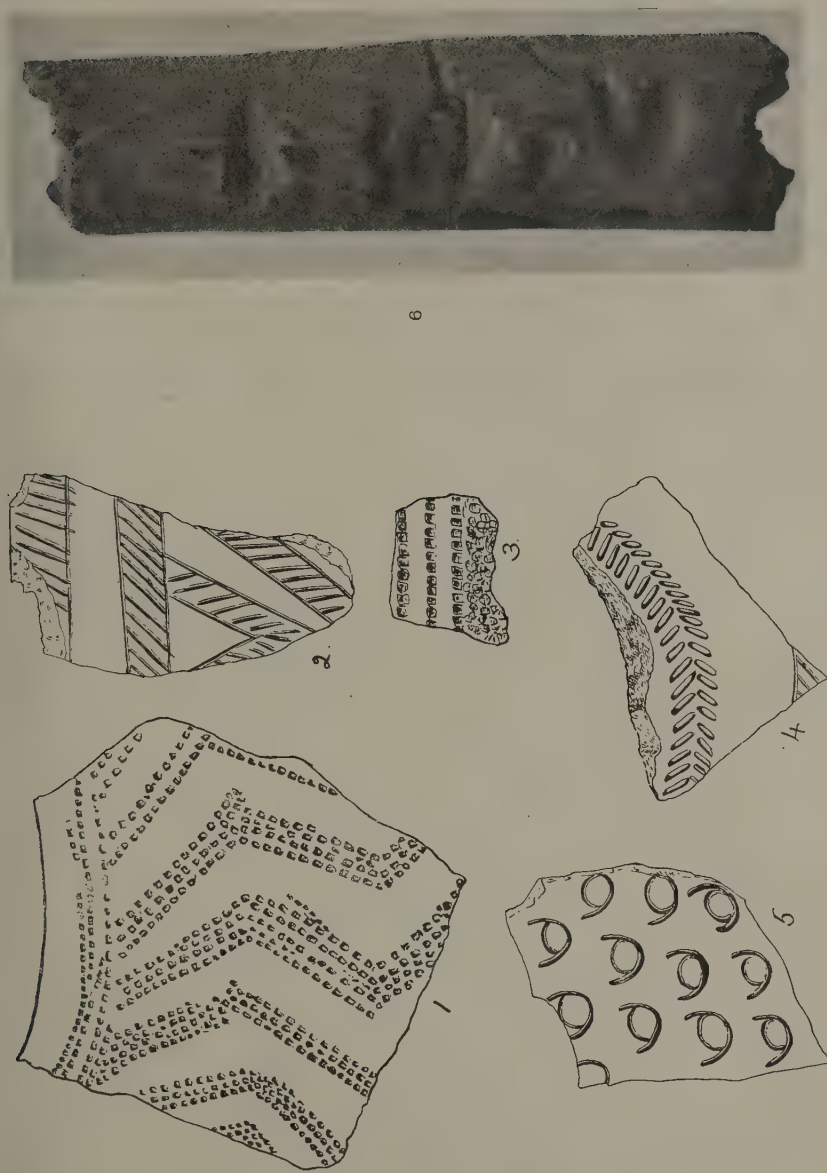


FIG. 4.

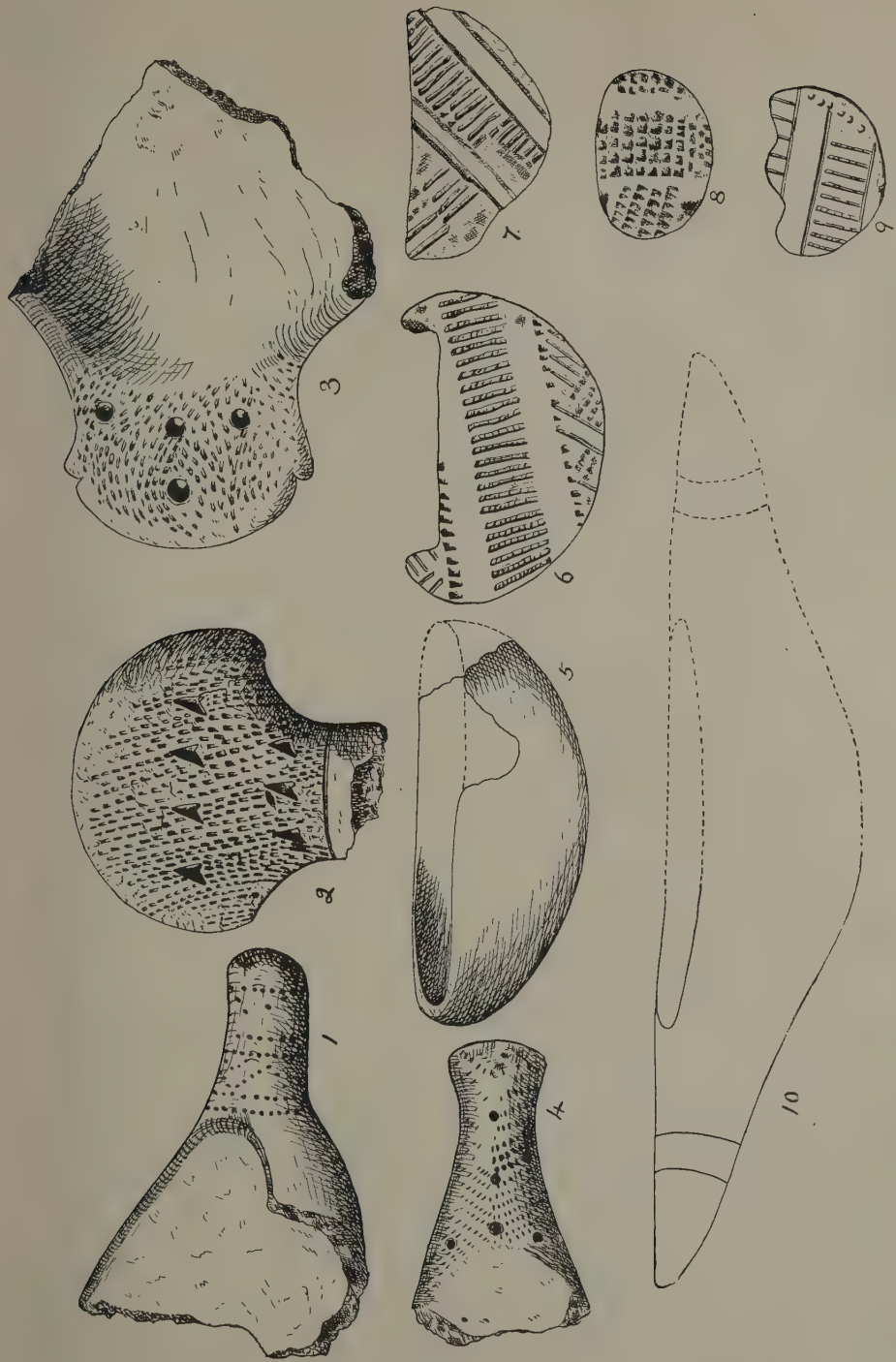
Faragab Potsherds. Fig. 1—Modern mat-made Pottery. Fig. 2—Ditto, with mat-marking smoothed away and added Incised Design. Fig. 3—Mat-made Sherd from Mound at Faragab. Fig. 4—Ditto, (unbaked) showing elaborate structure of "mat" on which pot was made.



Polsherds from Faragab (Figs. 1-9) and from Meroë (Figs. 10-13). Figs. 1, 5, 10 and 11 natural size, the remainder $\times 3$.



Figs. 1-4—Sherds from Meroë. Fig. 5—Fragment of Fine Meroitic Ware bearing impressed design. Fig. 6—Bone from Faragub, showing marks caused by stone chopping tool. Figs. 1-4 × about 3, Fig. 5 × about 1½, Fig. 6 × 1.



Pottery from the Mounds at Faragab. Figs. 1-4—Fragments of Vessels of hitherto unknown type. Fig. 5—Minute Bowl.
Figs. 6-9—Objects of unknown use. Figs. 1, 3, 4 \times about 3, Fig. 2 natural size, Fig. 5 \times about 13, Figs. 6-9 \times about 13.

A PREHISTORIC SITE IN NORTHERN KORDOFAN

BY C. G. SELIGMAN

WITH PLATES XVI-XX

Faragab (misprinted Garafab in the 1 : 1,000,000 map issued by the Sudan Government) lies some 20 miles east of Bara, which is itself not quite 50 miles north of El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan. I am indebted to Mr. H. A. MacMichael, until recently Inspector of the Bara District, for drawing my attention to this prehistoric site, which consists of four large mounds some nine to twelve feet high lying about a mile north-west of the village. The mounds are grass-covered and bear a few small bushes, and, in fact, differ in aspect not at all from the surrounding country. Their slopes and the flat ground between them are more or less covered with fragments of bone and soft fine scaly bone debris, with which occur pieces of foreign rocks and numerous perforated ostrich egg discs, showing that a considerable amount of denudation has taken place—indeed, the mounds must at one time have been both larger and higher, and may have been more numerous. The whole of the country round is sandy and undulating except towards the west, where it is very flat; water is everywhere obtained from wells; nor are there any outcrops of rock, while the Gawama, the sedentary ‘Arabs’ who live at Faragab in *tukl* made entirely of grass and dura straw, all assert that clay suitable for pot making is not found nearer than Zaghawa (Jebel Shuaf, on some maps called Jebel Royan) in the Kagmar *massif*, some 60 miles to the north of Faragab.¹ The importance of these facts will be apparent very shortly when considering the significance of objects found in the mounds, which were obtained from three trenches averaging about 5 yards in length by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth. As the mounds themselves varied somewhat in height so did the depth of the trenches, virgin soil being reached at from 7 to 10 feet. Taking a trench about 10 feet deep, it was noted that although charcoal, fragments of bone, and potsherds

1. As a matter of fact clay is found nearer than this, namely, in the Kheiran, some 20 miles distant, where it exists within a few feet of the surface. Mr. MacMichael tells me that at Bara at the present day clay is got at a depth of seven or eight feet. He considers that mud buildings in Northern Kordofan are associated with immigrant Dongolawi elements.

occurred at every depth, the last two feet were relatively barren ; there were well-marked layers in which remains were specially abundant at about 8, $6\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 feet from the bottom, but the topmost three feet were relatively sterile. At the bottom of the trench were found the remains of cattle, sheep, dog, and perhaps goat, and many bones, presumably of these species, were found at every depth. The objects found in the mounds and on the surface include artifacts of stone, bone, ivory, beads, etc., and many pottery fragments, and ostrich shell discs as well as a number of objects which, though not artifacts, have clearly been imported from a distance. It will be convenient to describe these in order :—

(i) *Stone*. The only perfect implement discovered is a quartz pygmy 'blade,' which in character closely approaches those found at Jebel Gule between the White and Blue Niles, already figured in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.¹ Besides this there is a portion of a polished tool of black basalt and many fragments of quartz, doubtless the remains of blocks intentionally broken, though none of these pieces bear actual evidence of purposeful working. Further, Mr. MacMichael has shown me a small polished adze head found on the surface of the soil in the immediate vicinity of the mounds. There are also numerous pieces of hard stone more or less rubbed and worn by prolonged friction, which are clearly parts of stones used for grinding dura or other grain. Many of these are fragments of plutonic rocks, but among them is one of quasi-rectangular shape of particularly hard sandstone stained red by iron oxide, while another is highly calcareous, and may be an artificial lime cement or mortar.²

(ii) *Bone*. These include bone javelin or arrow points, more or less mineralised (Plate XVI, figs. 9, 10, 11), which bear a striking resemblance to those found in Egypt—e.g., to a series of Ptolemaic date found by Professor Petrie at Memphis. There are also a number of short lengths of the shafts of long bones, the medullary cavity of which has been artificially enlarged while one end of the bone has been rounded and

1. Vol. XL, 1910, p. 210.

2. My thanks are due to Mr. G. I. Prior, of South Kensington Museum, for identifying a number of rock specimens. I would also acknowledge the assistance rendered me by Professors Dunstan and Petrie as well as by Dr. C. W. Andrews and Messrs. W. Campbell Smith, E. A. Smith, and G. C. Robson.

I am especially indebted to Professor Garstang for the opportunity of studying the potsherds he found at Meroë, and for permission to reproduce some of these.

smoothed by grinding (Plate XVI, fig. 7). Under this heading I may also mention the phalanges of a dog or cat which have been purposefully split, and also a fragment of the rib of a large bovine animal which, blackened by fire, bears upon its surface marks made by a chopping tool (Plate XIX, fig. 6). These marks are so rough and irregular that they could hardly have been made by a metal tool, and the bone itself is heavily mineralised.

(iii) *Ivory*. Several carefully-shaped fragments were found, the largest of these, apparently made by removing a length from the hollow part of a tusk, measures about 11·5 by 6 cm., and is shown in Plate XVI, fig. 1. Other ivory objects are two beads (Plate XVI, figs. 5 and 6), the spatulate end of an implement (Plate XVI, fig. 4), and the puzzling sinker-like object, perhaps an amulet, shown in Plate XVI, fig. 3.

(iv) *Beads*. Ivory beads have already been mentioned. Beads of dolomite and scolecite (Plate XVI, figs. 12 and 13) also occur, and a single bead of carnelian was found on the surface between the mounds. Professor Petrie has kindly examined these and states that the carnelian bead, if Egyptian, as it appears to be, cannot be later than the eighteenth dynasty. A large number of discs of ostrich eggshell occur at all depths, they vary in size from 4 to 15 mm. in diameter, and a considerable number are coloured black. That this coloration is not accidental is shown by the absence of irregular stains, such as would have been produced if the coloration were due to gradual staining by chemical processes in the depths of the mounds. Moreover, sections show that the staining is even throughout, suggesting that the colour was produced by charring, perhaps after impregnation with some organic matter such as fat.

(v) *Pottery*. The pottery fragments found in enormous quantities in the mounds are of great interest, and fall into two main groups: (a) fragments which bear impressed string marks due to the clay having been beaten out on a string mat (Plate XVII, fig. 3), a process which is still in use among the pot-makers of the *jibal* of Northern Kordofan; and (b) fragments bearing geometrical designs, composed of groups of incised or impressed lines or dots. Some fragments show the characteristics of both groups; their clay was beaten out on a string mat, while an area—often at the shoulder or near the mouth—where string marks are lacking bears geometrical designs. The specimen figured in Plate XVIII, fig. 4, is a good example of this mixed ornamentation; the mat marking, considerably worn, is shown in the lower part

of the drawing. It cannot be stated offhand that pots which show no string marking were not made on string mats, the marks may have been purposely smoothed away when a flat surface was desired, or preparatory to ornamentation with geometrical designs. This is commonly done at the present day, and I have little doubt but that it was also done at Faragab.

Considerable interest attaches to the impressed string patterns of group (a). At the present day the area in which pots marked in this manner are found seems to be relatively small, their centre of distribution being the hills of north central Kordofan, whence they have spread along the trade routes westward across Kordofan to Jebel Kaja, perhaps even entering Darfur, south for an indeterminate distance, but not reaching the naked blacks of Southern Dar Nuba, and eastwards at least as far as the area between the White and Blue Niles. I am uncertain how far north they extend at the present day, but as far as I can ascertain they do not occur in Nubia, although the large narrow-necked vessels which are found in such numbers in the necropolis at Meroë show the characteristic markings extremely clearly. It is especially suggestive to find that this method of pot-making was in vogue at Meroë, for there is a very strong resemblance between many of the Faragab sherds with impressed or incised designs and the rougher sherds found at Meroë. This is well shown by the small series of fragments reproduced in Plates XVIII and XIX; nor is the resemblance limited to the designs, but it extends to the general appearance and quality of the ware, so much so that many fragments might as well have come from one site as from the other. Such large quantities of these sherds have been found at Meroë that there can be no question of their post-dating the ruins, a matter finally decided by Professor Garstang's discovery of typical potsherds associated with the remains of well known classical wares. Thus, two sherds from Meroë (Plate XVIII, figs. 10 and 11) were found with a fragment of a red-figured Attic vase; it will be noted that one of these bears an impressed design identical with that on one of the Faragab sherds (Plate XVIII, fig. 5). Again, other fragments (Plate XVIII, figs. 12 and 13) were associated respectively with pieces of Samian ware, and a Hellenistic black ware with red designs.

At the present day six kinds of pots are used at Faragab, all imported from Zaghawa, Jebel Haraza, and the neighbouring hills. Two of them *ibriq* and *dulaq*, are probably comparatively recent forms in Northern

Kordofan; of the remaining four, *dahalub*, *durai*, *burma*, and *boša* (the last two being the ordinary Sudanese water vessels identical except as regards size), *dahalub* and vessels closely resembling, if not absolutely identical with *durai* (both basin-shaped vessels) and *burma* all occur in the mounds. But in addition there are present fragments of a type of pot which certainly does not occur in Northern Kordofan at the present day, and which I have not been able to trace in any part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This type was oval, rather shallow, and decorated with incised lines and dots forming geometrical patterns; it was produced at each end into a solid mass usually more or less covered with designs. Typical fragments are shown in Plate XX, figs. 1 to 4. The small bowl, probably a toy, (Plate XX, fig. 5) and the fragments of larger bowls enable the outline of this type to be reproduced with a reasonable degree of certainty, and the reproduction is shown in Plate XX, fig. 10.¹

The most puzzling of the pottery finds are a number of objects ground out of fragments of broken pots. The majority of these are of the eared type shown in Plate XX, fig. 6, and possibly represent the head of an animal, while the simpler forms (Plate XX, figs. 7, 8, 9) must be regarded as derived from this type.

In support of the suggestion that these objects represent the frontal view of an animal's head, I may refer to an impressed pattern common on the finest Meroitic ware which I have little doubt represents almost the last stage of degeneration of an animal head design. A Meroitic sherd of this type is shown in fig. 5 of Plate XIX.

(vi) *Miscellaneous Foreign objects.* These include shells and fragments of foreign rocks. Large numbers of the fresh water univalve *Melania tuberculata* occur in the mounds and are found at all depths. The number of these shells absolutely negatives the idea of their appearance being accidental, though it does not seem possible to determine for what purpose they were collected. As none are pierced, they could scarcely have been used as ornaments, and if used for food they would have been broken; possibly they were collected to burn for lime (as the Veddās still collect snail shells), but against this is the fact that the shells are not found in pockets, as might be expected had they been

1. This restoration is based on the assumption that the opposite ends of the vessel were symmetrical, as in Melanesian food bowls. It is possible, though an examination of the fragments makes me regard this as very unlikely, that the vessel was shaped somewhat like a spoon.

stored and forgotten, but are scattered through the mounds. A small number of the shells of a land snail (*Limicolaria*, sp.) occur, all more or less broken.

Fragments of the valves of a fresh-water bivalve, a species of *Spatheus*, almost certainly *Spatheus ruber*, are present. Valves of this shell brought from the White Nile are still used as spoons at Faragab, while in the Blue Nile Province in the neighbourhood of Kamlin they are employed in the manufacture of pottery. Fragments of foreign stones include a 'highly-polished micaceous gneiss . . . which evidently comes from a highly-foliated rock,' a 'rather striking mica diorite' and a Muscovite granite in a highly-weathered condition.¹ Besides these there are a number of rounded masses about the size of marbles, consisting of more or less calcareous and ferruginous sandstone.

In making an attempt to estimate the age of the Faragab mounds we may consider the evidence offered firstly by their contents, and secondly by the mounds themselves. The first question that must be answered is, can the objects recovered from the trenches be regarded as representative of those still lying buried within the mounds? I believe that they can, and my reason for this belief is that there is a substantial agreement in the objects discovered in the three trenches, while all closely resemble a small collection made by Mr. MacMichael, who had a large circular hole dug in one of the mounds. Accepting this conclusion, the absence of metal and the presence of a bone and ivory industry, associated more or less intimately with stone implements and a type of pottery vessel which is no longer made, certainly suggest a considerable age, and this suggestion is strengthened by the mineralised condition of the bone and wooden objects; for although mineralisation *per se* is little evidence of antiquity, it is unlikely that this process would advance rapidly in the midst of a sandy mound in a country where the rainfall is scant, and, therefore, percolation slight. The antiquity of the site is further evidenced by the highly decomposed condition of some of the foreign minerals to which reference has been made already. I refer specially to the Muscovite granite; several fragments of this mineral were found in a condition so highly decomposed that it might be called pulverulent. One of the least decomposed of the fragments, which in transverse section is of quasi-rectangular form and appears to have been used for grinding, and still shows a portion of the original

1. Information given me by Mr. W. Campbell Smith, from whose letter I quote.

worn surface, was sent to South Kensington with the query whether it was likely that the stone was hard enough for use a few hundred years ago. The answer given by Mr. W. Campbell Smith was that this seemed extremely improbable. The carnelian bead already referred to, though its presence is far from being conclusive, also affords presumptive evidence in favour of the antiquity of the mounds. It seems, therefore, that the contents of the mounds do justify the idea that they are of a considerable age.

Let us now consider the mounds themselves, which, as already stated, are roughly from ten to twelve feet high, and extend over a wide area. This is not the place for a detailed consideration of the conclusions that can be deduced from the height of the mounds of Lachish (mud brick) or the depth at which Roman remains are found in London (wattle and daub). But an examination of the data does show that even in the wetter climates of both these settlements, and though both are built of materials which weather quickly and give rise to a substantial amount of debris, mounds ten feet high take centuries rather than tens of years to form. There can be little doubt that they take very much longer on sandy soil in a somewhat dry climate¹ without the help of mud or mud bricks. If then it can be shown that the Faragab mounds are due to the slow accumulation of village debris and blown sand, without being in any way dependent upon the weathering of mud or mud-brick houses, this will be additional, and I think conclusive, evidence that the mounds have formed slowly over a prolonged period of years. Enquiries along the lines suggested by this reasoning show that all the houses built by the sedentary populations in the neighbourhood of Faragab are of grass or dura straw, and that neither mud nor clay enter into their composition. This does not prove that the old inhabitants of the site did not employ mud or clay, though the fact that neither is now known to occur in the neighbourhood renders their use unlikely. Considerations such as these can not, however, be regarded as conclusive, and it is clear that only a chemico-physical examination of the substance of the mound and of the underlying virgin soil can settle the question. If, apart from a small quantity of charcoal and organic debris, the two samples agree, then the mounds have arisen

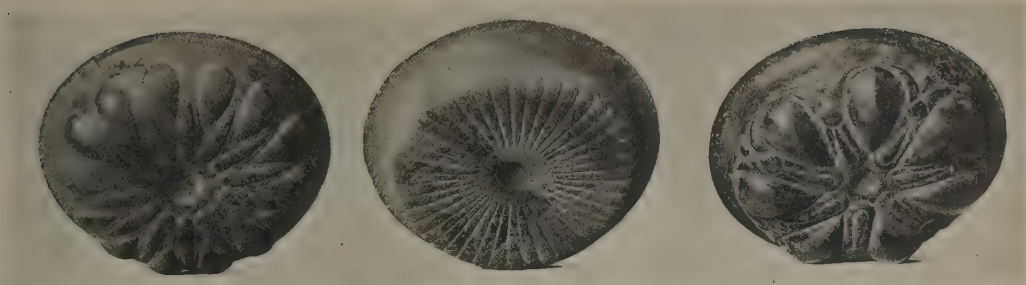
1. Even in that part of Northern Kordofan in which it is possible for a sedentary population to live, the rainfall is only about twelve inches. In good years catch-crops of dura are grown, but in bad years these fail over considerable areas.

without the weathering of mud, mud-bricks or clay; if, on the other hand, there is a sensible difference between the country soil and the mound, it is clear that the latter, at least in part, has been formed by the weathering of foreign inorganic matter. The necessary investigations along these lines were undertaken for me at the Imperial Institute under the direction of Professor Wyndham Dunstan, F.R.S., from whose report I quote the following:—

‘The two specimens of sand in tubes A [taken from one of the richest layers in the mound] and B [taken from the bottom of a hole over a foot deep made in the untouched soil in the floor of the trench] have the same mineral composition. The sand grains are chiefly quartz, and in each case there is about 0·2 per cent. of heavier mineral present. The heavier minerals are the same in both specimens. A few fragments of rootlets, shells and calcareous aggregates, together with some charcoal-like fragments were observed in A, but not in B, this constituting the only material difference in composition between the two specimens.’

This seems to place the antiquity of the site beyond doubt, and I venture to bring forward the mounds of Faragab as evidence that at a somewhat remote period—perhaps at least as far back as the Ptolemaic—the Faragab site was occupied by a people rich in cattle, living in huts of grass or straw, and using bone points for their weapons; a people rich in ivory, which they worked with implements of stone.

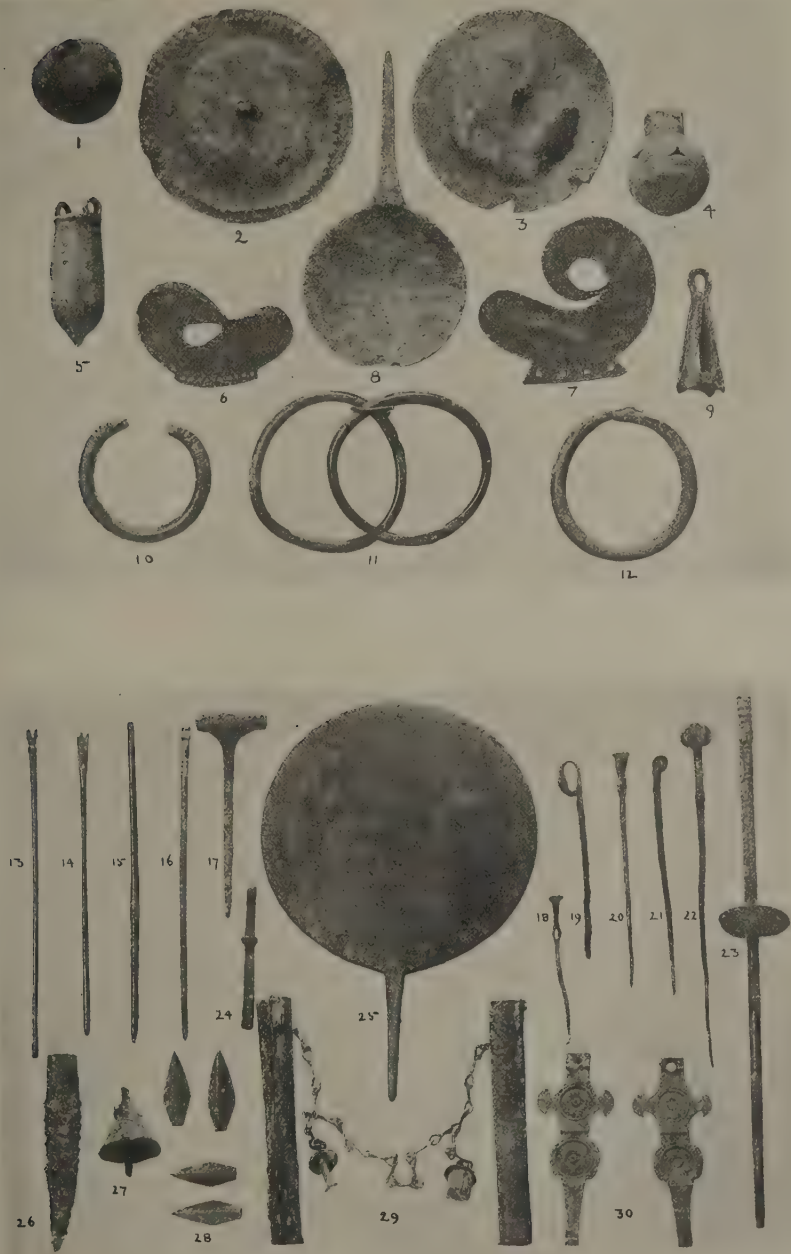
A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.



DECORATED BRONZE BOWLS.



A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.

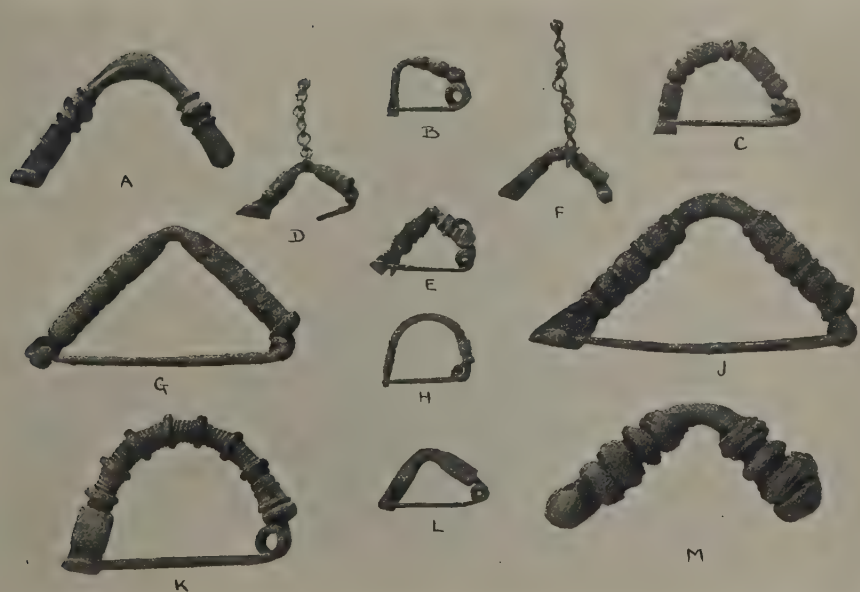


BRONZE OBJECTS.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.

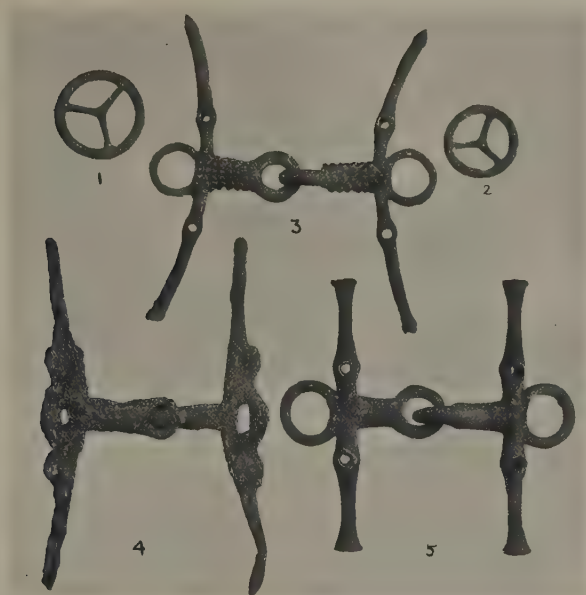


SWORD CHAPES, COINS AND EAR-RINGS.



BRONZE FIBULAE.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.

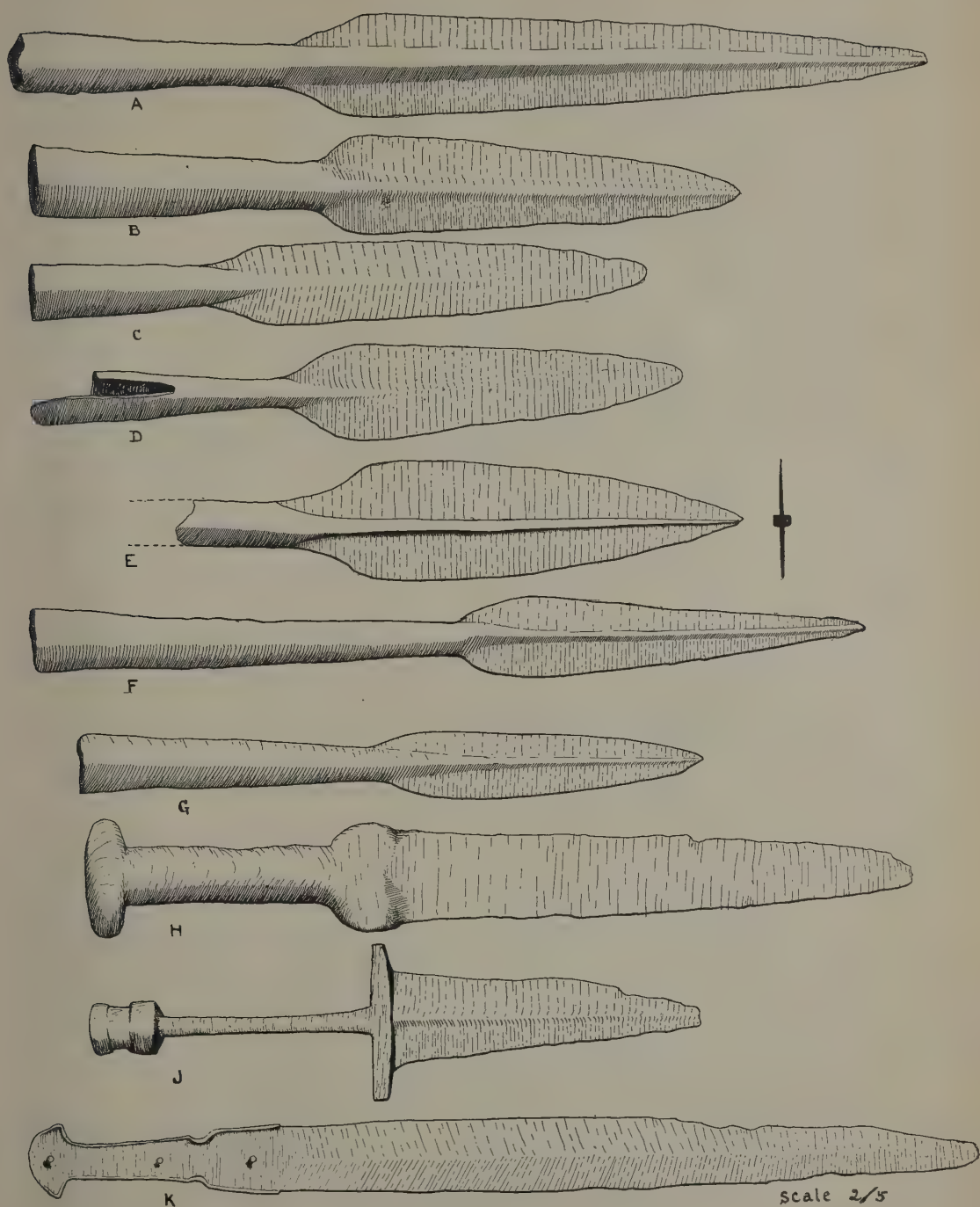


BRONZE AND IRON BITS.



IRON ARROW HEADS, KNIVES, AND PICKS.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.



TYPES OF IRON SPEARS AND DAGGERS.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.



ALABASTER VESSELS.



STONE VESSELS.



GLAZED POTTERY AND (G) VARIEGATED GLASS.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.



IMPORTED GREEK POTTERY.



PLAIN POTTERY

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.



PLAIN POTTERY.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY.



BEADS AND AMULETS.



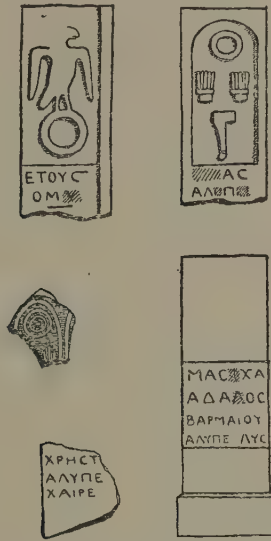
SEAL IMPRESSIONS.

A NORTH SYRIAN CEMETERY OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

WITH PLATES XXI-XXIX

Deve Huyuk is a small village in the Sajur valley, consisting of some twenty or thirty mud huts huddled together under the southern slope of a little 'tell'; the foundations of the houses are formed of large basalt blocks, and the well-path and the well-head are of similar slabs, telling of a past less squalid than the present. A few of these stones bear traces of ornament or inscription: I copied roughly the following:—



Round the 'tell' runs a shallow depression, probably caused by the removal of soil to build the mound; on the north-east lip of this hollow lay the ancient cemeteries, which last winter some fifty peasants were busily plundering in full view of the Bagdad railway passing within a quarter of a mile of the hill.

There were here two cemeteries. The first of these, which has been described by me in a previous article in these *Annals*¹, was of late Hittite date, consisting of cremated urn-burials of the type familiar to us from Yunus and other sites. The second cemetery, though not far removed from the first in date or in the character of much of its furniture, was yet of a very different type; the main distinction is that cremation, which I have elsewhere described as a foreign rite imposed upon the Hittites from without during the Late Empire, here ceases suddenly and is replaced by inhumation in cist graves, a return of the custom in vogue throughout the Early Bronze and Middle Hittite periods.

Graves were found at a depth of from five to eight feet, the poorer sort merely cut in the soil, those of the better class lined and roofed with stone; the walls were sometimes built up of coarse rubble, sometimes formed of large slabs set on edge, amongst which were basalt blocks obviously taken from older Hittite buildings. The ends were generally unlined, the roofs formed of great slabs; one of these roof-slabs, of basalt, was a rough example of the offering-tables with three shallow cup-like depressions that are commonly found on Late Hittite cemeteries. A typical grave measured 3.00 m. by 0.80 m. internally, the sides formed of rough slabs about 0.80 m. high, the roof of these basalt blocks each about one metre square, the top of the roof was about a metre below the present surface. The majority of the graves lay very roughly E. \times W., with an error of about 20 degrees, but some were N. \times S.; there was nothing like regular orientation, and bodies were found with their heads towards all points of the compass. The bones were much decayed and could often be distinguished only by their colour from the infiltrated soil that filled the graves, nor were the native plunderers inclined to spend much time on things so unprofitable; but in most cases there was enough to show that the body lay at full length, though the position of the arms remained uncertain. In two or three instances at least the remains of the skull were found in a bronze bowl which had been placed under the head. It was not uncommon for a grave to contain more than one body, and as many as four were

¹ Vol. VI, No. 3, February, 1914.

reported from a single cist. Turning now to the furniture of the graves, the following tomb-groups may be given in detail:—

1. Bronze bowl, type 2, Pl. XXI, found under the head; two fibulae, types D and K, Pl. XXIII; two bronze rings, one plain, with flat inscribed bezel; two bronze bracelets with tripartite heads; suspended from the neck a chalcodony conoid seal of Late Mesopotamia type, Pl. XXIX; two very rough clay pots, one of bottle shape, one squat with almost straight sides slightly turned out to the rim.
2. Bronze bowl, as in (1); a clay lamp (broken), of the type shown in Pl. XXVII, 11, but simpler; a spouted vase, kettle-shaped (broken); and a pot of black ring-burnished ware, broken and much decayed.
3. An 'alabastron' with small knob handles; two slender bronze bracelets; two heavy bronze anklets with roughly-fashioned, snake-head ends; and a crystal bead.
4. Bronze bowl, as in (1); a large beaded knee fibula, Pl. XXIII, J; two rings of twisted bronze wire; a fragment of a bronze kohlpot (type of Pl. XXII, fig. 29); iron spearhead, length 0·34 m., type A, Pl. XXV; iron spearhead, length 0·16 m. (broken); a blue and white mosaic glass bead.
5. Plain bronze bowl with umbilical knob, diameter 0·155 m., type 9, Pl. XXI; a plain bronze bracelet, and a small fibula (type D) pierced for attachment to a chain.
6. Bronze bowl with godroons and lotus ornament, diameter 0·163 m.; two bronze spatulae or kohlsticks, one with flattened and one with rounded head, lengths 0·14 and 0·165 m. respectively; a small bronze situla, height 0·085 m. (Pl. XXII, 5); a bronze pendant, height 0·07 m. (Pl. XXII, 9); two steatite spindle-whorls; a blue glazed conoid seal shewing a man with an asp, Phoeniko-Egyptian style (Pl. XXIX, 4); and a fragment of a large size amulet in Egyptian blue glass.
7. Bronze bowl with godroons and lotus ornament, diameter 0·165 m., type as 5, Pl. XXI; a bronze pin with flattened and curled head, length 0·009 m.; a small clay oenochoi, plain, height 0·095 m., type 4, Pl. XXVIII.

8. Plain bronze mirror, total length 0·19 m., cf. Pl. XXII, 25; two small bronze fibulae; a plain bronze bracelet and two small plain bronze rings; a pendant seal of bronze in the shape of a man's head (Pl. XXIX, 3) on the base device, uncertain; a large size amulet of Egyptian glaze and a lot of small beads, mostly of mosaic glass (Pl. XXIX, 16).
9. Bronze bowl, slightly godrooned and with umbilical boss, diameter 0·16 m., type 5, Pl. XXI; a small bronze tumbler or cup, type 11; a bronze ring penannular with wire joining the ends as if to carry a scarab; a lot of bugle beads, light blue paste; a small oenochoi of pseudo-Cypriote type, with black paint bands; a blue-glazed pot, type of Pl. VI, L; top of a glazed pilgrim-bottle, of Egyptian type; the base of a black-glazed Attic kylix.
10. Bronze tumbler-shaped vase, height 0·13 m., type 12, Pl. XXI; two bronze kohlsticks, one decorated with rings; a bronze mirror, as Pl. XXII, 25; a silver Persian coin, Pl. XXIII, 3; a plain alabaster saucer and an alabaster tumbler-vase, Pl. XXVI, 5 and 6; two iron spears, types A and G, Pl. XXV; two plain bronze bracelets; a few paste and glass beads.
11. Heavy shallow bronze bowl, diameter 0·15, type 7; another, plate-shaped, roughly hammered out to a double spout as if for a lamp; two bronze arrow-heads, type 28, Pl. XXII; bronze dagger-pommel with head of ram, etc., Pl. XXIII, I; a very small bronze ring; iron dagger, type H, Pl. XXV; small clay amphora with black paint bands; small plain oenochoi, type of Pl. XXVIII, 4; clay alabastron; black Attic kylix, Pl. XXVII, 1.
13. Plain shallow bronze bowl, diameter 0·145 m., type 7, Pl. XXI; large bronze fibula, Pl. XXIII, type J; bronze grater (?) or strainer, Pl. XXII, 26; three bronze belt-studs; a pendant of green glass; an inscribed glass cylinder with silver pin and cap (broken); iron spearhead, length 0·295 m., Pl. XXV, type A; rough clay lamp, type of Pl. XXVII, fig. 11; a rough clay pot, ginger-jar shape, orange brown clay blackened around rim; a small plain amphora (broken).

14. Bronze bowl, plain, type 3, Pl. XXI; two iron spearheads and fragments of iron sword; b.f. Attic lecythus in form of woman's head, face dull brick-red, hair and spout black varnish.
15. Small bronze bowl (diameter 0.12 m.) of unusual type, a godrooned base being soldered on to an already complete vessel of type 2, giving effect of type 1, Pl. XXI; two small bronze aryballoi (broken), Pl. XXII, 1; a bronze kohlstick; a small bronze bell, complete with clapper, Pl. XXII, 27; several bronze bracelets, plain; a silver bracelet and a decorated pin, type Pl. XXII, 13; a few beads of mosaic glass; a ram's head in glass of different colours, Pl. XXIX, 1; five small plain clay vases, viz., a feeder (Pl. XXVII, 13), an aryballos, and two oenochoe (Pl. XXVII, 9).
16. Bronze bowl with godrooned ornament, rather of type 5, Pl. XXI; fibula of very angular type, cf. type A, Pl. XXIII; bronze kohlpot and kohlsticks, as Pl. XXII, 29, but broken; some large bronze bugle beads; a quantity of small hemispherical bronze spangles; pierced at the crown for sewing on to cloth; a plain bronze bracelet.
17. Plain bronze bowl, type 4, Pl. XXI; four small fibulae, type D, Pl. XXIII; finger-ring of twisted bronze wire; bronze penannular ring; two silver ear-rings (broken), Pl. XXIII, 5; green glazed scarab; pendant in form of grotesque human head in polychrome glass, Pl. XXIX, 2; beads, a few of plain blue glass, polychrome glass eyed beads, green glazed 'dad' beads, stone bugles and shells, Pl. XXIX, 17.
18. Plain bronze bowl, type 7, Pl. XXI; bronze spindle and spindle-whorl, Pl. XXII, 23; bronze pin with rolled head, Pl. XXII, 17; bronze pin head (?); two eye amulets of Egyptian green and black glaze; a green glazed conoid seal engraved with a seated goat and an , Pl. XXIX, 10; a white paste pendant and a few large yellow, blue and white glass eye beads, Pl. XXIX, 13; and a bronze finger-ring with flat bezel.
19. Plain bronze bowl, type 2, Pl. XXI; a plain bronze

- bracelet; a pair of base silver ear-rings, Pl. XXIII, 8; a small bronze pendant; two ear-rings made of shells, pierced and hung on bronze wire; a small dark steatite jar, hemispherical, Pl. XXVI, 9; large green glaze eye amulet; some cowries and coarse beads.
20. Plain bronze bowl, type 2, Pl. XXI; fragments of second bronze bowl, apparently a patera; large bronze spoon, Pl. XXII, 8; large fibula, type G, Pl. XXIII; three bronze rings, corroded together; plain bronze anklet; small bronze bell, cf. Pl. XXII, 27; bent bronze rod; three plain bronze kohlsticks; two plain bronze rings; a bronze pin; iron spearhead, type E, Pl. XXV; silver ear-ring (broken) with granouillé work; steatite spindle-whorl; a few mixed beads; the lower part of an Attic b.f. lecythus, with design of cross hatching and vine wreath in black on a white ground; a black cylinder, engraved; a plain scaraboid.
 21. Godrooned bronze bowl, type 5, Pl. XXI; plain bronze bowl, type 5, Pl. XXI; two fibulae, Pl. XXIII, M, and type G; a plain ring of bronze wire; a glazed 'marguerite' button; a dozen mixed beads.
 22. Godrooned bronze bowl, diameter 0.167 m., as type 5, Pl. XXI; bronze ring with engraved bezel (a lion?); bronze staff-head with lily design, Pl. XXII, 4.
 23. Silver coin of Athens, 5th century B.C., Pl. XXIII, 4; blue glass cylinder seal, with the device of the *πόρτιος θηρῶν*; bronze bezel of ring, engraved (?); blue glaze amulet; large glass nasturtium-seed bead.
 24. Plain bronze bowl, type 3, Pl. XXI; glazed scarab, rev. man and seated lion; green glazed amulets, eye, fly, and Taurt; a dozen mixed beads; a stone amulet marked out like a chessboard.
 25. Plain bronze bowl, type 4, Pl. XXI; pair of heavy bronze anklets with dog's head ends, cf. Pl. XXII, 10 and 12; pair of plain bronze bracelets; small fibula, type G, Pl. XXIII; small plain bronze ring; bronze ear ring, plain; scaraboid, paste, rev. man and snake, poor; a few mixed beads.
- Apart from these intact tomb-groups were a number of isolated

objects from other graves, the more interesting of which are figured in the plates.

The bronze bowls are mostly of Egyptian types, such as occur in the XXVIth Dynasty; silver bowls with godroon and lotus ornament like the bronze examples from Deve Huyuk have been found in the Delta, but on the Syrian pieces the character of the lotus is hardly pure Egyptian, and betrays rather the hand of the Phoenician craftsman copying from an Egyptian original. The iron spearheads (Plate XXV) vary a good deal in type; all are hollow-socketed; some of them, especially No. E with its pronounced square rib, recall those figured in Late Hittite bas-reliefs, and must certainly be regarded as preserving the old local tradition; the same is true of No. A, with its particularly long and graceful blade and strongly-marked diamond rib. The double-edged short dagger K bears, except for its rather too-pronounced ribbing, a fairly close resemblance to the thin bronze blades of the Amarna (Middle Hittite) period; but the single-edged form J, which was the most common in the cemetery, approaches far more closely to those on the Late Hittite monuments; indeed, if taken in conjunction with the pommels (or chapes) of Plate XXIII, figs. 1 and 2, it illustrates very well the weapons of the bas-reliefs. These pommels are of considerable interest; the first, of bronze chased, bears the head of a ram and a peculiar shell-like ornament; the second, of ivory, has unfortunately been damaged in antiquity by the addition of clumsy bronze rivets; it is carved in relief with the same subject as appeared on the other, but more elaborately treated, the horns of the ram becoming palmetted.

Quite common, apparently, were iron swords about a metre long, but these were all broken by the peasants, who used them, as they did the spearheads, for excavating the graves. So good is the metal employed that one of the daggers, cleaned of its rust and re-sharpened on a grindstone, proved to be still a strong and serviceable weapon, and shewed a surface like that of modern steel.

Most of the arrow-heads are of bronze, small, with a short hollow socket and three triangular barbs (Plate XXII, 28); a few flat-bladed iron examples also occurred (Plate XXIV, A-F). The small, slightly-curved knives (Plate XXIV, G and H) call for no other comment than that they closely resemble specimens found in

cinerary burials of the preceding age. More remarkable are the fine horse-bits of bronze figured on Plate XXIV; a plain iron bit of the same type was also found. These resemble some early Greek examples, except in that a heavy knobbed bar at either side takes the place of the revolving toothed wheel seen on the yet more brutal Greek bits. A still more striking parallel is afforded by the Scythian bits found in South Russia:¹ some of these are identical in every detail with the Deve Huyuk examples. Other parallels from the same district are also forthcoming, e.g., an ear-ring from Kiev (*loc. cit.*, p. 191) is the same, even to the filigree work upon it, as a broken example from Deve Huyuk (not figured); dog's-head anklets (*loc. cit.*, p. 526) are precisely like those most common in our cemetery, and illustrated on Plate XXII, 10 and 12: the long curved rhytons of Plate XXVII, 15 and 17, carry on a tradition which on the Russian steppes continued to the end of the Greek period. We may be tempted to recall the Scythian invasion of the South in the time of Cyaxares, when, as Herodotus says, they held Syria for twenty-eight years; this may indeed explain the common features that connect the civilization of Deve Huyuk with that of the Scythians, but at the same time another explanation may be possible. In a former article I have pointed out that a type of pin with pierced shank and flattened curled head (*cf.* Plate XXII, 21) is found in South Russia: but this pin occurs in Syria long before Cyaxares' time. Again fragments of scale armour found with the cremated burials of the Late Hittites are exactly like those from Scythia (*loc. cit.* p. 231); some of the types of fibulae common to the Yunus and the later Deve Huyuk graves also appear in South Russia; and so close is in many respects the similarity between the Late Hittite civilization and that of the succeeding period that other objects from Deve Huyuk wherein we see Scythian analogies may well represent a Late Hittite tradition. In short, if we recognise a Scythian element in North Syria, it does not follow that this first appears with the Scythian invasion mentioned by Herodotus. We are quite ignorant of who the newcomers were who in the reconstruction period of Carchemish remoulded the civilization of the Hittites, and any facts that may bear at all upon the question of their origin must needs be kept in view.

¹ Ellis H. Minns: *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.

The fibulae (Plate XXIII, A-M) are fairly homogeneous in type, though differing greatly in size, and are much what one would expect to find at this period, resembling many from South Russia, Asia Minor and Cyprus; but in Syria the type had a long life; not only is it equally common in the Late Hittite period (c. 1100 to 605 B.C.), but one example at least is known from a Middle Hittite grave which must be of considerably earlier date. The smaller fibulae are sometimes pierced and hung upon a slender bronze chain—perhaps a row of these so attached would fasten together the edges of an open sleeve or garment after the fashion remarked in Etruscan graves in Italy. Plain pins are not common, but a few (Plate XXII, 18 and 20) preserve the pierced shank that is found in Early Hittite tombs and continues to be common throughout the whole period; the type is so widely diffused throughout Syria and Mesopotamia that we must regard it as of local rather than of purely Hittite origin. One of the most curious bronze objects is the thin plate of metal cut into the shape of a horn and pierced below with small holes for sewing on to a stuff or leather basis (Plate XXII, 6 and 7); three of these were secured; it is hard not to see in them the ritual horns which in Hittite sculpture are attached to the head-dress of certain divine and priestly figures; if this supposition be correct, then the bronze horns are the best witness that we have of a direct Hittite tradition passing over into the non-Hittite period after the destruction of the Hatti Empire.

Mirrors were fairly common, always undecorated, and the handles always missing (Plate XXII, 25). Heavy bronze anklets were worn, two pairs sometimes occurring in one grave; the heads of these are sometimes plain, more often rudely fashioned into the heads of dogs or snakes (Plate XXII, 10 and 12). Bracelets were generally of thin bronze wire without any attempt at decoration. Ear-rings (Plate XXIII, 5-9) were sometimes of bronze, sometimes of silver or of silver gilt (Plate XXIII, 7); the last is fragmentary and so large that it may perhaps be a pendant. The shape of the silver example (Plate XXIII, 5) recalls types found at Ephesus. Hollow bronze cylinders, which puzzled us at first, were subsequently found to be kohl-pots; these were made in pairs fastened together by a bronze chain, and had wooden stoppers also attached by chains (Plate XXII, 29), kohl-sticks were very common and generally plain.

Amongst the amulets were various pieces of Egyptian glaze—large eye amulets, dad beads, figures of Bes and Ptah, etc., all of XXVIth Dynasty types (Plate XXIX); a bronze arrow-head hung on celt of polished green steatite; at the present time small celts, ancient and modern, are worn by the native women as milk-charms. Similarly a black cylinder seal carried by a married woman enables her to lie late abed without incurring a whipping from her husband. The curious bronze pendant (?) from tomb D H 6 (Plate XXII, 9) resembles some much smaller examples known from Cyprus. The bronze object figured in Plate XXII, 26—several others of the sort were found—may be a bread grater, but is also rather like the strainers sometimes fixed at the base of a syphon tube for drawing up from a vessel a liquid containing vegetable deposit; such strainer-tubes have been found in the Sudan, dating from Graeco-Roman times. Stone vessels were comparatively few in number. Of those figured on Plate XXVI, numbers 1-6 are of alabaster; Plate XXVI, 9, from tomb D H 19, is of steatite; as is also the small carved box, Plate XXVI, 8; Plate XXVI, 7, is a palette of alabaster with lotus design.

The glazed pottery is interesting. Two pieces, one of which is shewn on Plate XXVI, H, are of Phoeniko-Egyptian ware, precisely similar to examples found in Cyprus and other Phoenician sites; a fragment of a more elaborate bottle of the same shape, which forms part of tomb-group D H 9, is perhaps an import from Egypt itself. The remaining pieces are of local fabric. One (Plate XXVI, K) is a rude imitation of the foregoing pilgrim-bottles, the whole surface covered with rough raised knobs; the others, small oenochoae and albarelli, are without ornament. The ware resembles that of the Late Hittite period, a smooth, hard and fairly lustrous glaze somewhat thinly applied over a white paste body and running down more thickly to the base of the vase; it is generally very well preserved, but inclines to crackle and then to flake off from the body clay. It is quite different from the glazed ware of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, and it is easy to trace from it the development to the fine Syrian glazed pots of the Roman period, and so to the early Arab. The glass found in the cemetery, of which there was a good deal, but it was bought up at extravagant prices by Aleppine dealers, was of the usual 'Phoenician' type of

vari-coloured glass wound in ribbons about a core and combed in festoons. An example is figured on Plate XXVI, G.

Of imported Greek pottery, six specimens were recorded, and doubtless others were found. Four of these have been mentioned in the tomb-groups, namely, a broken kylix base of black ware in D H 9, a black kylix in D H 11(Plate XXVII, 1) a b.f. human-head oenochoi in D H 14, and part of a late b.f. oenochoi in D H 20; a similar oenochoi, complete except for the base, and a b.f. kylix are figured in Plate XXVII, 1 and 2. It is surprising to find so many imported Attic vases of this date in the cemetery of an unimportant village in the heart of Syria. That the vessels were prized by their owners is shewn by the fact that the two broken pieces from D H 9 and D H 20 had been broken in antiquity and their edges trimmed down to render them still serviceable; still we have in the presence of so many fragile things brought from such a distance to this remote village an interesting sidelight on trade enterprise during the Persian period. A few of the vases of local fabric, decorated with bands of black paint, preserve something of the Cypriote tradition that influenced so strongly the pottery of the Late Hittites; but for the most part there is a distinct breach with the preceding period and a reversion to an older type. The pots figured in Plates XXVII and XXVIII, especially numbers 4, 8, 14 on Plate XXVII, and numbers *a, f, g, h* on Plate XXVI, are quite unlike anything we have from the Late Hittite graves of Yunus,¹ but bear a very close resemblance to many from the Middle Hittite cemetery at Amarna. It may be that the pottery of the Yunus type (which is also found in the First Cemetery of Deve Huyuk) was manufactured largely at Carchemish, and the fabric ceased with the destruction of the town; but in any case, in this more isolated village the older tradition was able to survive the alien influence which we see at work during the Late Hittite era; indeed in grave D H 2 there was a black ring-burnished vase, of the shape shown on Plate XXIII, fig. 9,¹ of the article already referred to, which was in every respect a pure survival of Middle Hittite pottery. Such ring burnishing, however, was rare; the majority of the undecorated vessels were of rather rough

¹ See my article on 'Hittite Burial Customs,' Vol. VI, No. 3 of the 'Annals.'

pinkish-drab clay, and their technique shewed a distinct falling-off from the excellence of the earlier period which by their shape they recall.

The face-pot (Plate XXVII, 5) said by the natives to have come from a cist grave, in technique resembles far more closely the pottery and figurines of the Late Hittite period, to which very likely it belongs; it might be compared to certain well-known Cypriote types. The other face vase on the same plate (fig. 7) is clearly an imitation of the Late Egyptian Bes vase such as we find in the XXVIth and following Dynasties. The tall vase (Plate XXVII, 6) seems to be a clay copy of an alabaster original. The lamps (Plate XXVII, 11 and 12) are very curious; the latter has on it a grotesque face, resembling the Bes type; on the strength of this Mr. Hogarth suggests that the three knobs on No. 11 may perhaps be all that tradition has left of the Hittite triad of divinities. No. 16 is probably the latest of the series; coming close to examples found in Hellenistic graves.

The beads are for the most part of glass, and amongst them eye-beads of glass mosaic are particularly common: those on Plate XXIX, fig. 13, are of opaque yellow glass paste with 'eyes' of blue-black and white, those of fig. 16 are of blue and white; the grotesque human head (fig. 2) in black, white and yellow, and the ram's head (fig. 1) in green, blue and white, are like specimens found in Egypt between the XXVIth Dynasty and Hellenistic times. Small glazed beads in the shape of Horus eyes and dads(?) (Plate XXIX, 17) have already been mentioned. Stones are not greatly in evidence. Tomb DH 16 produced some curious large bugle-beads of bronze, and from the same tomb come numerous bronze spangles that had been sewn to a dress. Of the seals, it is interesting to find here, and therefore to be able to date, the tall conoid seals with oval faces, of crystal or chalcedony, somewhat rudely engraved with Late Mesopotamian subjects, usually a figure in long drapery sacrificing, or praying to the moon-god, such as are common in museum collections that have not hitherto been satisfactorily dated. Round-faced conoid seals moulded in glass are also characteristic of the Deve Huyuk period: examples in paste began to appear towards the close of the Late Hittite era, and thenceforward the form is one of the most usual. Moulded paste scarabs and scaraboids are common. Cylinder seals are rare, sometimes made

up of paste after the fashion of those of the preceding period; an example in yellow crystal is figured in Plate XXIX; it was found with a fibula of normal type (Plate XXIII, C), and is probably from a grave early in the series. A glass cylinder, badly broken, was found in tomb D H 13, and another with the familiar deity holding two beasts in D H 23. Judging from this cemetery, the very fine cutting in hard stone that marked the best period, Late Hittite I and II, had disappeared entirely by this time; as will have been noticed, the easier process of moulding in glass or paste is generally preferred, and when stone is used at all we find either a weak, scratchy engraving of a traditional subject become barely recognisable or, as in the case of the conoid from group D H 1, the shape of the stone, the subject, and the style, chiefly made up of straight lines and shallow drill-holes, are not local. Several metal rings with engraved bezels were found.

After this description of the objects found in the cemetery, it would seem hardly necessary to discuss at any great length the question of its date; the Greek vases and the coins are of themselves enough to shew that it centres upon the fifth century B.C. But something should be done to define more closely its limits. We have seen that the connection is very strong with the Late Hittite period, as illustrated both by the graves of the First Cemetery at Deve Huyuk itself and by those of Yunus; there must certainly be a large measure of continuity between the two civilisations. Now as Yunus was the cemetery of Carchemish, which city we confidently assume to have been destroyed in 605 B.C., and as in the ruins of that city the Yunus civilisation is freely represented whereas everything characteristic of Deve Huyuk is hitherto conspicuously absent, the Late Hittite occupation being followed directly by the Late Hellenistic with a period between during which the site lay desolate, we may conclude that the Yunus-Carchemish civilisation throughout North Syria was destroyed with the destruction of the capital. After this disaster the city lay desolate, but in the neighbouring districts, released from the old paramount influences and brought into touch with new, there grew up a new civilisation, illustrated for us by Deve Huyuk, which was in much the direct heir of its predecessor but in some degree harked back to the older local culture of the Middle Hittites, and was at the same time strongly influenced by the Phoenicians, and received

through their trading operations objects imported from Greece and Egypt.

The conquests of Alexander started a new Hellenistic era, at Carchemish itself and throughout Syria, which was marked by new buildings and new fashions. The pottery of this period is familiar to us from the city ruins, from cemeteries at Kirk Moghara, Ghabagatch and Sebahler in the North and, e.g., from Gezer and Jebail in the South; none of this pottery occurs at Deve Huyuk. Again, as has been said before, no traces of Deve Huyuk material are found at Carchemish in connection with its Hellenistic any more than with its Late Hittite ruins. Therefore this, which we may best call the Persian period, lies between the Babylonian and the Macedonian conquests, its maximum range being from 600 to about 300 B.C. Though we have only one cemetery wherefrom to judge, the curiously composite character of the culture shewn therein and its connection with the cosmopolitan Phoenicians makes it probable that the same culture is to be expected over a relatively wide area, and that from Deve Huyuk we can gain a very fair picture of North Syria during these three centuries. One piece of evidence for this comes from far afield. At Gezer there were found five graves which are provisionally described by the excavator as Philistine, and attributed by Prof. J. L. Myres to the 9th or 8th century B.C.¹ The tombs are rectangular cement-lined cists with covers of rough stone slabs; the bodies are extended; with them are bronze bowls, both plain and decorated, of precisely the Deve Huyuk type; the fibulae are the same, the bronze anklets with animal-head ends are the same, a pin with four-horned top is the same (cf. Plate XXII, 13); there are similar alabastra, the same conoid seals, and iron knives of a fairly similar type. There can be no question that these graves are of the same character and period as Deve Huyuk. Moreover, there is one piece of internal evidence which strongly supports this later dating.

Tomb 4 contained a scarab with the cartouche of Men-ka-ra; there is, of course, no question of the tomb's belonging to the IVth Dynasty, and the scarab itself is of late type; it would be difficult to explain the appearance of the name during the period to which Professor Myres and Mr. Macalister would assign the

¹ 'The Excavations at Gezer,' R. A. Stewart Macalister, I, 289 seqq.

graves, but with the XXVIth Dynasty this becomes easy enough, for Tishaka and his successors made a regular cult of the Pharaohs of the earliest dynasties, whose names they associated with their own. Doubtless the Gezer graves are to be regarded as intrusive, and need not represent the culture locally prevalent, but they may at least shew that that of Deve Huyuk is not an isolated phenomenon but characteristic of a large part of Syria during the Phoenician period.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE XXI.

Decorated bronze bowls.

Types of bronze bowls.

PLATE XXII.

1. Bronze aryballes with lug ears : made in two halves soldered into a flat ring. D H 15.

2 & 3. Bronze discs with central loops ; probably too thin to be cymbals ; perhaps phalerae.

4. Bronze staff-head with lotus design incised and in open-work. D H 22.

5. Bronze situla. D H 6.

6 & 7. Horns cut in thin plate bronze, perhaps for attachment to a head-dress.

8. Bronze spoon. D H 20.

9. Bronze pendant of Cypriote type.

10-12. Bronze anklets with dog's head finials.

13-22. Types of pins. D H 15, 18, etc.

23. Bronze spindle shaft and disc. D H 18.

24. Bronze tweezers with sliding ring.

25. Bronze mirror. D H 8.

26. Bronze grater. D H 13.

27. Bronze bell with clapper. D H 15.

28. Four bronze arrow-heads.

29. Bronze double kohlpot with chain and wooden stoppers.

30. Bronze lock-hasps.

PLATE XXIII.

1. Bronze pommel or chape of sword. D H 11.

2. Ivory ditto with bronze rivets.

3 & 4. Persian and Athenian coins. D H 10 and 23.

5. Silver ear-ring. D H 17.

6. Bronze ear-ring.

7. Silver-gilt ear-ring or pendant.

8. Silver ear-ring. D H 19.

9. Gold ear-ring.

A-M. Bronze fibulae.

PLATE XXIV.

1 & 2. Bronze wheels, possibly amulets.

PLATE XXIV—continued.

3 & 5. Bronze bits.

4. Iron bit.

A-F. Iron arrow-heads.

G-J. Iron knives.

K & L. Iron picks with shaft-holes and cutting ends.

PLATE XXV.

A-G. Iron spear-heads.

H-K. Iron daggers.

PLATE XXVI.

1-6. Alabaster vessels : Nos. 5 and 6 from D H 10.

7. Alabaster palette.

8. Steatite box, on the sides three winged horses and a lion.

9. Steatite bowl from D H 19.

10. Steatite kohlbbox : this is probably from a burnt grave of the Late Hittite period.

A-F, H-L. Glazed pottery.

G. Variegated glass oenochor.

PLATE XXVII.

1-3. Imported Greek vases, 1 from D H 11.

4-17. Unpainted local pottery : 5 probably of Late Hittite date.

PLATE XXVIII.

Unpainted local pottery. 1-11.

PLATE XXIX.

1 & 2. Variegated glass from D H 15 and 17 respectively.

3. Bronze head-pendant. D H 8.

4. Bronze hand amulet.

5. Steatite amulet, ram-headed sphinx.

6-9. Amulets, the first two of white steatite, the others of green paste ; found together. Perhaps of late Hittite date ?

10. Green paste seal. D H 18.

11. White chalcedony seal. D H 1.

12. Bronze kid ?

14. Steatite button seal.

15. Stone handled seal.

13, 16, 17. Beads of glass, paste and carnelian. D H 8, 18 and 17.

18. Polished steatite celt.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CIVILISATIONS PRÉHELLÉNIQUES

The second edition of M. Dussaud's *Civilisations Préhelléniques* will be welcomed at the present time, when there is likely to be a pause in excavation and exploration. In bringing the work up to date the author has been obliged considerably to increase its bulk, adding also numerous illustrations in the text and plates, five of which are coloured.

M. Dussaud's arrangement is geographical, successive chapters dealing with Crete, the Cyclades, the Troad, continental Greece and Cyprus, but chronological difficulties which might be felt by the uninitiated are largely met by the table at the end of the book, which, though compressed, is carefully compiled. The concluding chapters deal with matters more controversial, but the author for the most part steers a middle course between extreme opinions.

Owing to the wide extent covered the treatment is necessarily in places compressed; the section dealing with Central and Northern Greece (D'Attique en Thessalie) being limited to some sixteen pages. We note, however, that M. Dussaud in this edition gives some account of the recent explorations in Thessaly and Boeotia, thus making good a somewhat serious omission in the first edition. The discoveries in Northern Greece make a book dealing with the remains of the whole Aegean area peculiarly difficult. In order to understand their full significance fuller reference is needed to the archaeology of South-eastern Europe, and the chapter on ethnology suffers accordingly. Similarly the section on the Troad is merely a summary of excavation in that area, without reference, with the exception of Yortan and Bos Euyuk, to the *Hinterland* of Asia Minor, in which will probably be found the connecting links between the cultures of Troy and Cyprus, the parallel nature of which is duly noted by the author. To this criticism it may well be replied that the book professes only to deal with the remains discovered in the Aegean area itself, of which a wholly admirable and up-to-date account is given. To the archaeologist the full references appended in footnotes should make up for any brevity of treatment in certain sections, while the general reader will find a clearly written and profusely illustrated statement of results.

H. A. O.

* René Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la mer Égée*. (Paris, Librairie Paul Geuthner.) 2nd edition.

Περὶ τῆς τοπογραφίας τῶν ἀρχαίων Θηβῶν· ὑπὸ Γεωργίου Σωτηριάδου.
 "Ἐκδοσις δευτέρα μετὰ προσθηκῶν. 42 pp. Athens, 1914.

I write where I have no access to books or papers, but if my memory serves me, this pamphlet is a reprint of an article published by Mr Soteriades in *Parnassos* in 1910, with the addition of some notes on recent excavations and a criticism of the view that I expressed in *B.S.A.* xvii (1910-11). I there suggested that the archaeological evidence was not sufficient to decide the question as to the site of the 'lower town' of Thebes (and a fresh visit in the spring of 1913 only strengthened this view), and that, judging by the literary evidence, one would come to the conclusion that this lower town was situated, not on the hilly ground to the east and west of the Cadmeia as Fabricius and Soteriades had maintained, but on the flat ground to the north (not, however, leaving the Cadmeia ὅλως ἀπομεμονωμένη, κεχωρισμένη τῆς πόλεως νοτίως αὐτῆς, but connected with it on its northern side, as my map at least should have made clear). The chief difference between us is that Soteriades assumes that the Thebans chose the strongest site and walled it (cf. p. 23, τὰ νέα ταῦτα τείχη δὲν εἶνε δυνατόν ἀλλαχόσε νὰ δεχθῶμεν διευθυνόμενα ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ νοτιανατολικοῦ ἄκρου τῆς Καδμείας, and p. 22 ἢ πρὸς βορρᾶν παρέκτασις . . . δὲν παρείχε καὶ σπουδαῖον τι ἀμυντικὸν πλεονέκτημα), whereas I suggest the town grew outside the acropolis (to the north), and that they then put a wall round it: like Athens.

Of the literary evidence which I brought forward, the only passage of which he criticizes my interpretation is Arrian, *Anabasis* i, 7, 10, the description of the taking of Thebes by Alexander. He points out that it would have been more difficult for the Thebans to wall off the Cadmeia by a double χάραξ, if this meant doing it on three sides (my view), than if it meant doing it on one only, the south (Soteriades' view). This I grant; though it seems more a matter for the Thebans than for me. But I do not understand him when he asks why the Thebans never thought ὅτι ἡ ἐκ φύσεως πολὺ ὀλίγον ὄχυρὰ καὶ ἀπομεμονωμένη ἀκρόπολις των θὰ ἦτο ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν πολεμίων

ἐφόδῳ τόσον ἀσθενής, ὥστε νὰ ἔχῃ ἀνάγκην δευτέρας ὀχυρώσεως, προασπίσεως μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ ἥκιστα βεβαίως ἰσχυροῦ χάρακος!

The Cadmeia was well fortified, and naturally a strong place except on the north and the south; but it is on the north and south sides of the acropolis that my plan and Soteriadhes' agree. The *χάραξ* was not intended as an additional defence of the Cadmeia, but to protect the Thebans themselves when they had marched out of the town from an attack by the Macedonians, who held the the acropolis, and to prevent communication between these Macedonians and Alexander. To defend themselves against a double attack the Thebans had to disperse their forces, as Soteriadhes points out; but they would have had to do that in any case, to prevent the Macedonians in the acropolis attacking the lower town.

There is no need to go over the ground again. I rely chiefly on Herakleides; curiously enough, Soteriadhes also finds his evidence satisfactory; others must decide between our interpretations. Only excavation can settle the question. Soteriadhes tells us that while his pamphlet was being printed, I suppose therefore in 1914, it was announced that Κεραμopoulos had discovered *σαφέστατα λείψανα πυλῶν, ἥτοι τὸ κατώφλιον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλευρικὸν πύργον*, in the hollow below the S.E. corner of the Cadmeia. If this is so, it settles the question of the Electran Gate against me; but Soteriadhes adds: *ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀσφαλέστερα συμπεράσματα ἢ ἀνασκαφὴ εἶνε ἔτι ἀνεπαρκής*.

A. W. GOMME

January 3, 1914.

INDEX

- Abydos—46, 47, 60, 82.
 Adams, Phythian—1, 4, 7, 8, 11.
 Aegean—130.
 Agini-rherhe—23, 69, 71, 73, 74, 79.
 Alabastron, Alabastra, Alabaster—117, 118, 126, 128.
 Alexandrian, Alexandria, Alexander—51-59, 66, 101, 128, 131, 132.
 Amentari—10.
 Amon—6, 9, 10, 13, 14.
 Amon-Renas, Amon-Shaghet, Amon-arresas, Amon-hotep, Amon-shahet, Arg-Amon, Mal-biua-Amon, Tokrirhe-Amon—23, 24, 67-79.
 Amphora—118.
 Antioch—52, 97.
 Antoninus Pius—54, 55.
 Areq-Amen—9.
 Arian, Arians—91, 96, 99, 104.
 Armour—122.
 Arrow-heads, points—29, 121, 124; 108.
 Asia—41, 51, 123, 130.
 Aspelut—8.
 Assyrian—74.
 Astronomer, astronomical—2, 4-6, 12.
 Athanasius—100, 101, 103.
 Athens—94, 97, 120, 131.
 Attic—110, 118, 119, 125.
 Augustus—10, 24, 51, 53, 59, 63, 67, 68, 78.
 Axe—30, 39.
 Axumite—75.
 Babylonia, Babylonian—50, 128.
 Balkan—51.
 Bath, baths—9-12.
 Bazil St.—89-105.
 Bead, beads, 38, 39, 108, 109, 117-120, 124, 126.
 Beards, beard plaited—45-48.
 Beattie, Hamilton—7, 8.
 Bell—119, 120.
 Bracelet, bracelets—35, 39, 117-120, 123.
 Bronze—15, 51-55, 57-61, 66, 67, 116-124, 126, 128.
 Burial, burials—10, 33, 40, 122.
 Byzantine—89.
 Caesarea—51, 89-91, 93-97, 102-106.
 Capart—43, 47.
 Cappadocia, Cappadocian—51, 89, 91, 95, 100.
 Carchemish—122, 125, 127, 128.
 Carol, carols—89-91, 101, 106.
 Celt, celts—124.
 Cemetery, cemeteries—115, 116, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128.
 Chalki, chalkus—55-57, 64.
 Chapes—121.
 Civilian Gates—97.
 Cist—31-33, 38, 116, 117, 126, 128.
 Claudius—3, 10, 13, 50, 54, 104.
 Cleopatra—53, 59.
 Coins, coinage—3, 10, 13, 51-60, 65, 66, 127.
 Collection, Edwards—45.
 Commodus—54, 55.
 Contract, contracts—81, 82, 86, 87.
 Copper—51, 52, 57, 60, 62, 64, 66.
 Cremated, cremation, crematorium—3, 9, 10, 116, 122.
 Crete—50, 130.
 Cuculcan—34, 35, 41.
 Currency—51, 52, 54, 55, 60, 63-65.
 Cush, Cushite, Kushite—23, 69-75.
 Cylindrical, cylinder—40-42, 120, 123, 124, 126, 127.
 Cypriote, Cyprus—118, 123-126, 130.
 Dagger, daggers—118, 121.
 Dattari, Signor—52-54.
 Deity—127.
 Delta—121.
 Denarii, denarius—51, 52.
 Deve Huyuk—115, 121, 126-129.
 Didymus, Mt. Didymus—90, 92, 95, 101-103.
 Diocletian—51, 52, 66.
 Domitian—53, 59, 60.
 Dynasty, dynasties—61, 84, 86, 121, 124, 126, 128, 129.
 Eagle—35, 44.
 Ear-rings, ear-ring—119-123.
 Egypt—43 ff.
 Ephesus—51, 123.
 Epiphanes—63.
 Eratosthenes—6.
 Ergamenes—9, 75.
 Erman—87.
 Ethnic relationship, affinities—43, 46.
 Etruscan—123.
 Excavations—1, 6, 7, 11, 13, 25, 28, 32, 37, 39.
 Faience—12.
 Faragab—107, 110, 112, 114.
 Fayum—61, 63.
 Ferlini—23, 68.
 Fibula, fibulae—117-120, 122, 123, 127, 128.
 Figures, figurines—32, 34-37, 40, 42, 44, 81, 123, 126.
 Flint—29, 30, 33, 39.
 Fresco, frescoes—9, 10.
 Furniture—116.
 Gann, T. W. F.—28.
 Gardiner, A. H.—85-88.
 Garstang, Professor—1, 12, 14, 23, 67, 68, 73, 108, 110.
 George, Mr.—1, 3.
 Geography, Geographical—73, 74, 76.
 German—50.
 Gezer—128, 129.
 Girdle—50.

- Glass—117-120, 124-127.
 Glaze—13, 118-120, 124, 126.
 Gods—14, 34, 37, 40, 41, 47, 75, 76, 103.
 Gold—52, 83, 90.
 Gomme, A. W.—132.
 Graeco-Roman—13, 124.
 Graftito, graffiti—4, 5, 67, 78-80.
 Grave, graves—116, 121-123, 126-129.
 Greece, Greek—50, 51, 65, 66, 74, 125, 127, 128, 130.
 Gregory of Nazienzen—91, 97, 99, 100, 103-105.
 Griffith, Mr.—23, 24, 67, 68, 73-79.

 Hadrian—53, 54, 58, 59.
 Halliday, W. R.—89.
 Hamite, Hamitic, Hamito-Semitic, Hamites—
 45, 46, 48, 49.
 Hatti, Empire—123.
 Hellenistic—3, 6, 9, 10, 14, 110, 124, 126-128.
 Herakleides—132.
 Herodotus—122.
 Hierakonpolis—43, 46, 48.
 Hieroglyphs—9, 36, 37, 40-42, 81-86.
 Hipparchus—6.
 Hittite, Hittites—116, 121-127.
 Hoards—52, 53, 60, 64.
 Hogarth, Mr.—26.
 Honduras, British—28, 36.
 Horma-ti-leq—8.
 Horn, horns, four-horned—121, 123, 128.
 Horse bits—122.
 Hor-si-atef—68.
 Horus—126.

 Incense, incensarios, incensario—32, 34-39.
 Inhumation—10, 116.
 Inscription, inscriptions, inscribed—7, 8, 14,
 18, 23, 24, 67, 74, 76, 77, 81, 86.
 Intef—81.
 Iron—9, 117-121, 128.
 Isis—9, 24, 68, 69, 74, 76.
 Ivory—46, 48, 108, 109, 112, 114, 121.

 Julian the Apostate—89, 91-104.

 Karanog—17, 75.
 Keniseh, Kenisa—15, 23, 69.
 Kiln, kilns—9, 34.
 Knives—121.
 Kohlpots, sticks—117-120, 123.
 Kordofan—107, 109-111.

 Lamp, lamps—117, 118, 126.
 Lee, Mr. Thoroll D.—50.
 Leeds, Thurlow—46.
 Legge, Mr.—43-45.
 Lehmann-Haupt, Professor—50.
 Lion Temple, lion, lions, Lion Goddess—9, 15,
 44, 76-79, 120.
 Linen—50.
 Lotus—117, 121, 124.

 Macalister, Mr.—128.
 MacMichael, H. A.—107, 108, 112.
 Magic—100.
 Mal-nefer-neq—8.

 Mal-neken—76.
 Marcus Aurelius—52-55, 98.
 Meroe, Meroitic, Meroite—1, 4-13, 15, 67-71,
 73-79, 108, 110, 111.
 Mesopotamia, Mesopotamian—50, 117, 123,
 126.
 Milne, J. C.—51.
 Mirror, mirrors—118, 123.
 Mond, R., M.A.—25.
 Morgan de—47.
 Mortuary contracts, priests—81, 82, 87.
 Mound, mounds—6 ff.
 Museum, Berlin—23, 68.
 — British—43, 57, 61, 81, 83-86.
 — Cairo—46, 83-85.
 — South Kensington—113.
 Mutilate, mutilation—44, 45, 49.
 Myres, Professor—128.

 Napata—24, 69, 71, 73, 78.
 Narmer, great slate, of, mace-head of, palette
 of—43, 45, 47, 48.
 Nastosen—78.
 Naville—84.
 Necropolis—9, 110.
 Negro, negroid—45, 46, 48, 49, 67.
 Nero—53, 55, 59, 64, 65.
 Neteg-Amen—3, 9, 11.

 Obelisk—23, 68, 73-75.
 Obol, obols—55, 56, 58, 59, 62-66.
 Obsidian—29, 38, 40.
 Ostraca, ostraka—51, 52, 56, 57, 61, 64, 65.
 Oxyrhynchus—53, 62, 63.

 Paint, painted—11, 28, 34, 36, 40, 78.
 Palace, palaces—2, 3, 8-12, 14.
 Palette, palettes—43-45, 47, 48.
 Papyri—51, 52, 57, 62.
 — Fayum—61.
 — Tebtunis—61.
 Papyrus, Fayum—63.
 Peet, T. E.—81.
 Petrie, Professor—45, 83, 108, 109.
 Petronius—24, 67, 69.
 Philistine—128.
 Phoeniko-Egyptian, Phoenician, Phoenicians—
 117, 121, 124, 127-129.
 Pliny—5, 74, 77.
 Pottery, potashers—7, 9-11, 13, 28-32, 34,
 36-42, 107-112, 124-126, 128.
 Priest, priests, priesthood, priestly—14, 75, 77,
 82, 87, 123.
 Ptolemais—5.
 Ptolemy, Ptolemaic, Ptolemies—13, 23, 51-53,
 55-57, 60-65, 68, 108, 114.
 Pyramid, pyramids—23, 24, 68, 76, 105.

 Quibell, Mr.—46, 48.

 Rameses II—47.
 — III—50.
 — Rameside—83.
 Red-figured vase—110.
 Rite, ritual—46, 116, 126.

- Rome, Roman, Romans—10, 15, 23, 24, 51-53,
55-57, 60, 64, 69, 73, 74, 103, 113, 124.
Ropeway—25.
Russia—122, 123.
- Samian—13, 110.
Sayce, Professor—8, 14, 23, 67.
Scarab, scaraboid—118-120, 126, 128.
Sculptor, sculpture, sculptures—7, 36, 86.
Seal, seals—117-119, 124, 126.
Seligman, C. G.—43, 107.
Septimius Severus—52, 54.
Severus Alexander—54, 55.
Shell, shells—38, 111, 112, 114, 119-120.
Silver—51, 52, 57, 60, 62-64, 84, 118-121, 123.
Smith, Professor Elliot—47.
Solidi—52.
Soteriades, Mr.—131, 132.
Spear—30, 117-121.
Stater, staters—57, 62.
Stela, stelae—7-9, 14, 15, 23, 24, 36, 67-69,
73-81, 83-85, 87, 88.
Stone, stones—7, 14, 25, 28-31, 33, 34, 36, 37,
108, 112-114, 120, 124, 126-128.
Strabo—67.
Sun Temple, god—8, 9, 15, 23, 69, 73, 75.
Syene—24, 67, 69, 77.
Syria, Syrian—50, 52, 53, 100, 113, 121-125,
127, 128.
Sword—119, 121.
- Taharqa—4.
Tank, tanks—11, 12.
- Teie—24, 71, 77, 78.
Temple, temples—3, 6, 8-10, 13, 14, 23, 68,
69, 81, 82, 84, 87.
Terra-cotta—24.
Thebes, Theban, Thebans—56, 61, 65, 70-72,
74-76, 105, 131, 132.
Thessaly—130.
Tiberius—52, 53, 59, 60, 74.
Tomb, tombs—9, 74, 81, 82, 87, 117, 120, 123,
124, 126-128.
Tebtunis papyri—61.
Tell-el-Amarna, 'tell,' Amarna—77, 115, 121,
125.
- Urn-burials—116.
- Vanquished—43, 45-49.
Vase, vases—24, 30, 31, 36-38, 40-42, 85, 110,
117, 119, 124-127.
Vespasian—52, 59.
- White & Sons—27.
Whorl—29, 32, 120.
Wilcken—56, 57, 61.
Woodley, Leonard—115.
- Yalloch—40.
Yunus—116, 122, 125, 127.

